



*Do you want the fragrance of the full-blown rose?  
If so, you must accept the thorns. Do you want the  
sweetness of the smiling dawn? If so, you must live  
through the dark hours of the night. Do you want  
the joy of liberty and the solace of freedom? If so,  
you must pay the price. And the price of liberty is  
suffering and sacrifice.*

*Subhas Chandra Bose.*



Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose — the Nation's Darling

**A NATION'S HOMAGE**

**LIFE AND WORK OF  
NETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE**

Editor-in-chief

**P. D. SAGGL**

Foreword

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**OVERSEAS PUBLISHING HOUSE**  
NAVSARI BUILDINGS, 240 Hornby Road,  
Fort, BOMBAY--1.



## FOREWORD

IT IS DIFFICULT to write about Netaji when his closest friends are contending that he is alive. That is why I once said that if he is alive he is a hero if he is dead he is a martyr.

E. Pattabhi Sitaramayya



Netaji at Karachi airport on way to Austria after the Tripura Congress.  
—Courtesy Mr N. D. Parikh.



Netaji photographed in Berlin in 1911

—Courtesy Mr N D Patil h



Netaji photographed after a visit to an Indian High School in Singapore, with the School Staff, guests and some senior students.

—Courtesy Mr N D Parikh



Netaji with Indian friends in Berlin who helped in forming the Indian Diplomatic Corps. His Secretary, whom he later married, is on his right.

—Courtesy Mr N D Parikh



Nuttall reviewing I N A. troops in Berlin in 1912.

—Courtesy Mr N D Parikh

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Shri P D Saggi

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## CHRONOLOGICAL

- 1897 23rd January Subhas Chandra Bose was born at Cuttack Orissa
- 1913 Passes matriculation and joins the Presidency College Calcutta
- 1916 Expelled from the Presidency College and rusticated from Calcutta University
- 1917 Joins Scottish Church College Calcutta.
- 1919 Passes the B A. Examination.
- 1919 Goes to England for the Indian Civil Service examination
- 1920 Stands fourth in the Indian Civil Service examination
- 1921 Resigns from the I C S returns to India, meets Mahatma Gandhi and C R Das and joins the Congress movement
- 1921 December 25 Subhas arrested and sentenced to six months imprisonment Altogether he was imprisoned 11 times during his 20 years of political career in India.
- 1922 December released from jail
- 1923 Appointed Editor of Forward Calcutta conducts propaganda for Swaraj Party
- 1924 Appointed Executive Office Calcutta Municipality
- 1924 October 24 arrested and detained in Mandalay under the new Bengal Ordinance
- 1927 May 16 released due to serious illness
- 1928 May 3 presides over Maharashtra Provincial Conference at Poona
- 1928 December opposes the Dominion Status resolution in the Subject Committee of the Calcutta Congress
- 1929 March 30 presides over Rangpur Political Conference
- 1929 October 29 presides over Students Conference Lahore
- 1929 November 29 presides over the First C P Youth Conference

- 1929 December 1, presides over Amraoti Youth Conference.
- 1931 July 4, presides over All India Trade Union Congress Session at Calcutta.
- 1932 January, arrested and imprisoned
- 1933 Released on medical grounds and goes to Europe Ban imposed against his return to India
- 1936 April 11, returns to India and is imprisoned under Regulation of 1818.
- 1937 March, released from imprisonment
- 1938 Elected President of the Indian National Congress, presides at Haripura Session
- 1939 Elected President of the Indian National Congress, presides at Tripuri Session
- 1939 April 28, resigns Congress presidentship.
- 1939 Organises Forward Bloc
- 1940 Launches Halwell Satyagraha.
- 1940 July 21, imprisoned under the Defence of India Rules.
- 1940 November, decides to go on fast unto death, is released
- 1941 January, escapes from India, goes to Kabul and from there to Germany.
- 1942 Conference of Indians in East Asia invites Subhas to take charge of the Indian National Army and the Indian Independence League.
- 1943 Journeys from Germany to Singapore by a submarine
- 1943 Organises Rani of Jhansi Regiment
- 1943 October 21, issues Proclamation on behalf of the Provisional Government of India
- 1943 Leads I N A on Burma front.
- 1944 I N A withdrawn from Burma front
- 1945 August 18, dies in plane crash at Taihoku



Netaji — The Napoleon of India

# NETAJI—THE NAPOLEON OF INDIA

By P. D. Saggi

*At the moment when the East is not begun  
Where nations are not free  
Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic  
ill  
Where the soul comes out from the depth of truth  
Where the young stretch its arms towards perfection,  
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert  
and of dead habit  
Where the mind is led forward by Thee into ever widening thought and action—  
Into that heaven of freedom my Father let my country awake*

TAGORE

THE world in India had just begun to stir after the long slumber which followed the horrors of 1857. A new generation had arisen to give a fresh trend to our national life. Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the pioneer of our social reform movement, the renowned Vidyasagar, Keshab Chandra Sen, the warrior who directed a frontal attack on corruption in our social life — these names inspired our youth when Subhas was still a child. Their idealism left a permanent mark on his future career.

Then came Dadabhai Nowroji, Phirozeshah Mehta, Ranade and Gokhale, stalwarts all, well-trained in liberal thought, who guided the destiny of the Congress with a disciplined hand. Recognising the colossal work ahead, the stupendous problems and the heavy hand of tradition that laid a stranglehold on social freedom and equality, they stressed that for a nation, weak and disrupted, political progress must go hand in hand with the task of strengthening the nation's social structure.

But the political scene was undergoing a rapid transformation. Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai and Bepin Chandra Pal constituted a formidable radical combination that threatened liberalism and ultimately ousted it.

Then came Mahatma Gandhi on the scene who believed that an ounce of practice was worth more than a ton of precept, and taught us the lesson of action. It was at this stage that Subhas entered the field of Indian politics.

During the crowded years in which he was an important actor on the stage of Indian political history Subhas won many brilliant victories and faced many a terrible reverse but whether in victory or in defeat, he continued to be a challenging personality. He was the Napoleon of India in more than one sense.

Both Napoleon and Subhas were the sons of lawyers. Both were precocious youths dreaming of things far beyond. Napoleon found a ragged and shattered army starving and ill-armed and inspired it to bring about the unification of Europe. When Subhas came into Indian politics he found Congressmen plying charka and takli and told them point blank 'My dear sirs you will have to do much more than that to get independence'. He found the youth of India disorganized and marshalled its forces for revolutionary action. He found India in the grip of suspended animation during the golden opportunity of the Second World War went over to South East Asia, and built up an army from among shop-keepers, pedlars, hawkers, carpenters, teachers and prisoners of war an army that challenged the might of the British Empire with a heroism that remains unsurpassed in human history.

Born on 23rd January 1897 at Cuttack Subhas' destiny was set to its goal right from the start. He began his career amidst conflict. This chronic introvert was thrown in the extrovert atmosphere of an Anglo-Indian School but as soon as he joined a full Indian high school he began his search for things spiritual. At 15 when other boys were busy on the football field, he was running after rishis and sanyasis, turning a vegetarian, practising contemplation, searching for the why and wherefore of the universe and the destiny of the human race. Coming into contact with the books of Vivekananda which inspired him to humanitarian action we find him going out unknown to his parents to cholera infected villages to nurse the sick and the suffering. Recklessly he neglected his studies but always managed to top the class such was his intellectual power. In 1915 he spent the whole year studying devotional literature but came second in the matriculation examination.

Then Subhas went to Calcutta to join the Presidency College a hot bed of political youths with the C.I.D. keeping a keen watch on them. The Principal fortunately was strong minded and would tolerate no police interference but Subhas was heading for trouble. He formed a political group to discuss current topics and immediately came under police suspicion. Then came another crisis. Some students assaulted a college professor for being rude and Subhas was expelled from the college and rusticated from the University indefinitely. The news

shocked his parents. Subhas went back to Cuttack and again began his hunt for yogis and sanyasis. This was in 1915. In 1917 he succeeded in joining the Scottish Church College, Calcutta, and resumed his activities.

Martial spirit was in his blood. He wanted to get into the army but who would take such a political-minded youth? Then joining the University Unit of the Indian Defence Corps, he spent the whole year soldiering, but came second in B A, with Honours in philosophy. Hardly had he spent a few months in the M A, class when his father decided to send him to England for the Indian Civil Service Examination. This was the last thing in his mind.

He had already decided to serve anybody but the bureaucracy. But with the next steamer leaving in a week, he had little time to decide, and there were only eight months for examination. The political group to which he belonged opposed the idea. One member had gone to England, got married and settled down comfortably. Not an instance could be found in which an I C S had refused to join the Service, but he assured the group he was made of a different stuff, and sailed for England on September 1st 1919.

At Cambridge he had little time to study, for in July 1920 was the examination. The result amazed everyone. He stood fourth in the list, first in English.

Of course, he would not join the Civil Service, but how was he to face his parents? Then began his long correspondence with Sarat. The Civil Service could give all worldly comforts, but could that satisfy the soul? Could one bid adieu to all ideals for the sake of a comfortable life? Gandhiji had already called on the Government servants to resign, and Indians in Civil Service must set an example. He argued thus with his brother, resigned the post and came back.

Returning, Subhas contacted Mahatmaji and Deshbandhu. In the cloistered Gandhian atmosphere Subhas felt out of sorts with his European costume and rationalism. "My reason told me clearly again and again that there was a deplorable lack of clarity in the plan which Mahatma had formulated", he wrote. "Depressed and disrupted as I was, what was I to do? Mahatma Gandhi advised me to report myself to Deshbandhu on reaching Calcutta." Thus began the differences which grew with the growth of time, and ultimately found Subhas leading an independent movement for the freedom of India from outside the country.

From Bombay Subhas went straight to Calcutta and met Deshbandhu. "I can still picture before my mind's eye his massive figure as he approached me", he writes, "By the time our conversation came to an end, my mind was made up. I felt that I had found a leader and I meant to follow him."

Those were the days of hectic activity. The Congress had launched the Civil Disobedience Movement. The Muslims stood behind it in a solid phalanx. The Akalis were in revolt against orthodoxy which, as usual, was backed by Government. Workers were on strike everywhere. Plantation labour in the tea gardens of Assam was discontented. The peasantry was rising against the zamindars. School and college students were defying their parents. Lawyers returning their sanads. The title holders, the most loyal section, their titles. The Government dared not touch the Mahatma. Then Gandhiji gave a call for a no tax campaign in Kaira. While the campaign was on, violence broke out at Chowri Choura, a number of policemen were locked up in a chowki and burnt alive.

Shocked to the core Gandhiji suspended the movement. The country was taken aback. Subhas was furious. In a vast country sporadic acts of violence were inevitable, he said. The dictator's decree was obeyed at the time, but there were regular revolts in the camp. To sound the order of retreat just when the public enthusiasm was reaching the boiling point was nothing short of a national calamity. The country was demoralised and Gandhiji, whom the Government till then dared not touch, was sentenced to six years imprisonment.

The nation was left without any political programme. That was intolerable. It must be in action all the time. The people must have something to do if not Civil Disobedience something else. The orthodox Congress voted for no change but rebel Subhas joined the Deshbandhu in forming the Swaraj Party and advocated Council-entry. In the election that followed the Swarajists swamped the polls for Subhas was among those who led the campaign. The Deshbandhu was elected Mayor of Calcutta and appointed Subhas as his Chief Executive Officer. This revolutionary it is interesting, undertook constructive work, opened hundreds of primary schools and dispensaries and personally supervised the city's sanitary arrangements. The Municipal office was humming with activity but such constructive work added to Congress popularity. To the Government it was intolerable. They imprisoned Subhas. A terrific agitation for his release was let loose and the Government had no alternative but to acquiesce.

The next year Legislative elections were on. Subhas contested a seat for the Bengal Council and swamped the polls. He was imprisoned again. From within the prison he protested to the President of the Council in a letter which constitutes a classic in political literature. Before the growing agitation in the country the Government yielded again.

A political power to be reckoned with by now, Subhas finding the Congress too hide-bound, started organizing the youth and gave them a call to smash everything that shackled freedom—social inhibitions, the caste system, inequality between man and woman, wealth and poverty.

the exploiter and the exploited, the prince and the pauper, the touchable<sup>9</sup> and the untouchable. He hated everything mean, narrow, selfish, and called upon the youth to dedicate themselves to national service. "Let religion and philosophy be set aside until we have made human beings out of walking skeletons in India", he said. "Our present-day philosophy should be to find food for the hungry, cloth for the naked, and homes for the homeless."

The Congress was still pursuing the old path, it passed at its Madras Session a theoretical resolution on independence, but proposed no action to implement it. Such paper resolutions would not satisfy Subhas. Taking a lead in forming the Indian Independence League, he travelled throughout India, outlining a programme of action for national freedom. Fighting the official Congress in the A I C C and in the Subject Committee, he ultimately forced the Congress to yield, and on 1st January 1930 at Lahore was passed the resolution to prepare for direct action for independence. Mahatma Gandhi fixed 26th January, 1930 as Independence Day for taking a solemn vow on a mass-scale. Soon came the Dandi march, and a nation-wide defiance of the law. Thousands courted imprisonment, faced lathi charges. Subhas was back in prison. Then came the Gandhi—Irwin pact. Mad with rage, Subhas condemned it as a surrender, but Gandhiji made a personal appeal for patience. The failure of the Round Table Conference left no alternative but to revive the movement. Subhas was again behind the bars.

Years rolled by, Subhas went to Europe, met Mussolini and De Valera, studied the growing international tension. The Congress, with no programme of action before it worked the provincial autonomy under the Government of India Act of 1935. Though satisfied with the record of the Congress Ministries, Subhas was afraid that constitutional mentality might grip the Congress. Hitler was now shooting up. The world was heading to war. Subhas was elected the President of the Haripura Congress. The whole of that year he used his presidential office for mobilising the scattered forces of freedom and for galvanizing the country's political life.

The next year, in defiance of Gandhiji's wishes, Subhas contested the presidency of the Tripura Congress, came out triumphant. This, it must be noted, was the only instance during Gandhiji's entire association with the Congress, where a single individual was able to inflict on him such a terrific defeat. The Mahatma admitted it, but the official Congress possessed arch manoeuvrers who made it impossible for Subhas to continue in the presidency. Resigning the presidency he organised the Forward Bloc, composed of leftist elements. A few months later came the war. He called for action, and was in jail again. There, he threatened to go on a hunger-strike, was released and kept under police surveillance in his own house.



The most romantic chapter of Subhas' stormy political career begins here. The exact details of his escape from police watch and the subsequent journey to Kabul are not available. Whether his original idea was to go to Russia or Germany is also not clear. His Kabul host reports that he had planned to go to Russia, but the Soviet, fearing German invasion, did not want to alienate England. In the circumstances, it seems Subhas had no alternative but to go to Germany. Not for the love of fascism or nazism but for the transcendent love of India he did it. As strong willed as ever he rejected Mussolini's proposal to form a provisional Government of India in Europe. In his interview with Hitler he frankly criticised Nazism and questioned Germany's wisdom in attacking Russia. 'I have nothing to do with Germany's racialism, fascist dictatorship or Japanese militarism' he said. 'I must do my duty. I remain a free man wherever I go, neither the German nor the Italian nor the British can buy my soul nor can I sell my freedom for anything under the sun.'

From Germany Subhas undertook a submarine journey to the Far East, and after many hair breadth escapades landed at Singapore. His arrival at Singapore was like Napoleon's return from Elba. Napoleon found a dispirited and disorganized army, but his mere presence inspired it with heroic action. The same was the experience of Subhas. Thousands of Indian civilians, men and women thronged round him to get into the Indian National Army. He did more than what Napoleon could. He organized two women's battalions, women taken from amidst their domestic atmosphere who put up a record of military service of which India will for ever remain proud.

That Subhas did not succeed in the Second War of Independence is utterly immaterial. Did Napoleon succeed? Subhas could not control the international forces. But against overwhelming odds he heroically continued his losing battle, and carried on a terrific radio warfare which contributed beyond measure in shaking the foundations of British rule in India.

None but a most inspired leader could have undertaken the task that Subhas did. His colleagues in the Congress for sometime went over to the side of the British. A galling experience no doubt but it failed to unnerve him. The Allied forces were marching into Burma. Rangoon had fallen. The Indian National Army had to withdraw from every front, but defeat made Subhas invincible and unconquerable. Napoleon was also defeated, his army shattered and he himself was made a prisoner, but did that make Napoleon any the less of a military genius?

Against Napoleon were ranged the forces of reaction—feudalism, monarchy, the princes and principalities of Europe—for he stood for bourgeois revolution for progress for modernism. So did Subhas. Napoleon had a transcendent love for France. After the Treaty of

Amiens when he had some time to do nation-building, he threw himself into the task of re-shaping the republic. With amazing energy he revived the social and commercial life of the nation, attended to hundreds of administrative details, started codification of the French Law, and reformed education and public services. These reforms stand to this day. That eminent British historian, Holland Rose, says correctly, "The code of Napoleon, with the accompanying codes of Civil and Criminal procedure, Penal Law and Commerce, presented a reasoned and harmonious body of statutes such as it never appeared since the days of Justinian. It did more. For the first time in human society, the poor and unlettered had the chance of knowing what the laws were. Napoleon brought to bear on the legal phrasology, his own habit of clear thinking, with the result that he could read and understand clearly all the articles of the code,—an ideal not yet fully attained by any branch of the practical English race."

Subhas' record shows that he was as great a constructive worker as a revolutionary. Unfortunately, he did not live to show his constructive abilities in Free India, but as the Chief Executive Officer of Calcutta he did prove his abilities in the direction.

Subhas died the death of an hero, and within a few months thereafter the British declared the independence of India.

Subhas' nationalism was in no sense narrow for he loved entire humanity. "I cannot admit any distinction between the East and West", he wrote, "Let every country be free." But he worked for India's freedom because of his conviction that India had a special contribution to make towards the progress of humanity.

"If I fall in fight, go and tell my people that Hindustan must rediscover her soul, her spirit and her ancient past. Let my India be a land where everyone will feel quite at home, where freedom will grow more and more, where every shackle will fall. Let my India rediscover her idealist roots, her power, her vivid and multi-prismatic imagination. Oh, let my country awake, let my motherland arise, let my India grow." That was the message of Subhas. Let this country, and specially its youth, hold before it that inspiring message in its private and public life, and try to emulate the transcendent patriotism of this great Karma Yogi.



# TRIBUTES

*They never fail who die in a great cause.*

—Byron.



Subhas escorting Shri Bhulabhai Desai to his car after the A I C C meeting in 1938. An angry crowd awaited Bhulabhai and Subhas pacified it

—Courtesy Tarak Das

THE DEATH OF Subhas Chandra Bose was a great calamity to the country. Such men are seldom born and when they go away, the gap that they leave is not easily filled. Anyhow, we have to bear the loss. But all of us have to learn many lessons from his life. The objective for which Bose sacrificed a bright life and promising career has not been achieved. That would need laying down the lives of many of us and we must be prepared for such sacrifice and service. Our nation needs that.

Rajendra Prasad

I AM SHOCKED TO RECEIVE the news about the old and brave comrade of mine who bore the same proportion of love for India as any other countryman. Since 1920 I had the privilege of coming in close contact with this great son of India, and I always had great regard for him in spite of our mutual differences on many occasions. Whatever may be the case, I never doubted his sincerity of purpose and his unbounded love for India. A mixed feeling of the deepest sorrow and relief envelopes my soul for the present—sorrow because the great selfless leader has passed away and relief because the brave man met with a brave and sudden death. I earnestly pray that the departed soul may rest in peace for ever.

Jawaharlal Nehru.

**N**ETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE disappeared from this country during the last War and risked everything to gain the freedom of India. The history of the period shows how he captured the imagination of the world. The Indian National Army was raised, and our countrymen outside India put their total savings at his feet. Escaping from the vigilant eyes of the British in India he reached the destination by a long and hazardous journey. It was tragic that he could not come back to India liberated from foreign yoke.

Next to Mahatmaji and Pandit Nehru, Netaji Bose became the idol of the nation, and our country, always waiting for the return of the hero, was grievously disappointed when the news of his death was confirmed. His memory will always be enshrined in the heart of the nation and the example of his burning patriotism will leave an indelible mark on the minds of our youth. Throughout his memorable life, the consideration uppermost in his mind was the freedom of his country from the foreigners. His radio appeals to India from foreign countries during the war confirmed the love and respect he had for Mahatmaji. This noble son of India is untimely removed from our midst by the cruel hand of Fate. May his soul rest in peace.

Chimanlal B Parikh

**T**HE SERVICE AND SACRIFICE of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose have been written in letters of gold. His love of the Motherland was a great that to him any action to liberate her from foreign yoke was just and proper. That he hastened the dawn of independence by the formation of the Indian National Army goes without saying. A true patriot, independent India will ever remember him. Peace to his soul!

S. K. Patil.



**T**HE TRAGIC END of an eventful life of one of the hravest and foremost patriots of India Suhhas Chandra Bose will be mourned deeply hy all throughout the country There was nothing that he did not sacrifice in the struggle for freedom There can be no doubt that in making his alliance with Japan he was moved hy the highest impulse of patriotism, coupled with a sense of frustration. Equally there can be no doubt that it was an act of misguided patriotism. It was a grievous mistake to have thought that Japan would help India out of any higher or *unselfish* motives

Vallabhhaai Patel

**S**UBHAS IS DEAD The last tragic scene has been enacted in the many-coloured drama of his strange and crowded life. To myriads of men and women, who loved him, his death is more than a great national loss — it is a deep personal bereavement. Those of us who dissented from him much strongly in his approach to some of the vital political issues and deplored more keenly his unwise and unfortunate decision to seek the aid of Fascist Europe and imperialistic Japan to set India free also realised most clearly that he was driven to his desperate and calamitous action hy his implacable hatred of India's bondage and his overwhelming passion to achieve her independence. His proud importunate and violent spirit was a flaming sword, forever unsheathed in defence of the land he worshipped with such surpassing devotion His death and his life were both a dedication to the Ideal of liberty A greater love hath no man than this that he lay down his life for his country and his people

Sarojini Naidu

**W**E WORKED TOGETHER as members of the Congress Working Committee and in splite of differences on many things I have great regard for all he did for the welfare and betterment of India

Abdul Gaffar Khan

**YOU** ARE fortunate to have been born in a country with such glorious cultural traditions and such colossal man power I am pleased to see the burning passion with which you and your Netaji yearn to make your country free from foreign domination The value of your Netaji is even more than mine I am a leader of only 80 million Germans while he is the leader of 400 million Indians In all respects he is a better leader and a better general than myself I salute him and Germany salutes him It is the duty of all Indians to accept him as their Father and to obey him implicitly I have no doubt that if you will do that, his guidance will lead India very soon to freedom

Hitler

**HIS** ADVENTUROUS SPIRIT and unswerving devotion to the cause of India's freedom for which he risked his all had come to make him one of the greatest heroes of his country

Kamaladevi.

**A** N INDIAN PATRIOT of the first rank that he was, Subhas Babu has laid down his life in the service of his motherland Subhas Chandra's death in such tragic circumstances as an exile has once again brought to us the sad realization that we are mere helpless slaves Though many in this country and elsewhere may not have seen eye to eye with his way of doing things, the fact remains that he was a great fighter in the cause of India's freedom, and for that very sacred cause which was so dear to his heart, he sacrificed his life Mother India can never forget her great and devoted son, Subhas, noble in life, and noble in death

A Qaiyam Ansari

**S** UBHAS BOSE CAST aside a promising career and jumped into the work of national freedom because he was convinced that as long as British imperialism survived, there could be no freedom for India The entire nation is steeped into sorrow at the news of his death The cause for which he sacrificed will triumph and the people whom he loved will learn to emulate his spirit of heroic sacrifice

Nagindas Master

**I** RECALL THE DAYS we spent with him and under his guidance as the President of the Indian National Congress as also the stormy times when he differed from us but we always had a high regard for his patriotism and sacrifice

Biswanath Das.

ONE MAY DIFFER FROM him with regard to his methods and as a matter of fact, a large section of the people disagreed with him on important issues. But his pluck and self-sacrifice his burning passion for the freedom of his country his organising capacity—all these will ever remain as ideals for the youth of the country

Harekrushna Mahatah

IRRESPECTIVE OF BRITISH opinion Subhas was one of the bravest sons India has had the pride to produce. Though we might not have agreed with him his courage fervour and perseverance were proof enough of his greatness. We have to fulfill the mission of setting up a free Indian Government which he started. The spirit which goaded the patriot in him speaks for itself. Does not the blood red cloth covering Tipu Sultan in his mausoleum speak of his relentless though unsuccessful struggle against the rising tide of British imperialism?

N G Ranga.

SUBHAS BOSE'S love for the country and his unbounded zeal for freedom of India will be written in letters of gold. Whatever differences anyone had with Subhas Babu none could doubt his sincerity of purpose, and future generations will read with astonishment the thrilling episode of his life and his love for India.

Anugraha Narain Sinha

I HAD NOT the good fortune of coming in contact with Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose but I have no hesitation in declaring my firm conviction that our motherland's freedom was the result of the combined efforts of Netaji's I N A movement, and the QUIT INDIA movement. Our country is badly in need of leadership such as Netaji provided.

L. A. Bhatt

NETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE was a star of the first magnitude in the Indian political firmament. No tribute in words would do justice to the indomitable patriotic spirit that was Netaji's. He was the spirit of Eternal Youth and a beacon light to those who are lost in the darkness of despondency. Though he is not among us his spirit will guide us for years to come. Netaji is dead. Long Live Netaji!

R. O. Zatakie

**I**T IS AN INCONTROVERTIBLE and undeniable fact that but for the noble efforts and heroic sacrifices of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, the day of India's liberation would have been postponed indefinitely. Netaji spoke to the stubborn and haughty British imperialists in the language they understood. The philosophy of suffering and Satyagraha had no significance for them. Netaji organised Indians abroad into the powerful Indian National Army and armed them with the latest weapons of the west. Moreover, Subhas inspired his countrymen and women with an intense desire for freedom. "Liberty or Death" was his watchword. I congratulate the organisers of the Commemoration Volume on this noble and patriotic venture. Our countrymen should know more about Netaji and his life work.

Bhimsen Sachar

**I**T IS FITTING that steps are being taken to bring out a volume of Tributes to Sjt Subhas Chandra Bose. We are, of course, too near his time to be able to assess or evaluate many aspects of his life correctly, but his devoted service to the motherland has undoubtedly contributed an inspiring chapter to the history of our freedom struggle.

It is well-known, that Subhas Bose, like Jawaharlal Nehru, began with volunteering in the Indian National Congress. Those who have followed the events of his later life, and particularly noted how he mysteriously disappeared from India during the last war, organised a Provisional Government of Free India abroad, securing ready recognition from powerful belligerents in the conflict, and how the Indian National Army which he formed for India's liberation, with its marching slogan "Delhi Chalo," eventually bequeathed the every-day salutation, JAI HIND which Independent India has adopted, will concede that the memory of this torch-bearer of liberty is enshrined in his countrymen's affections.

P S Kumaraswamy Raja

**T**HE NAME OF NETAJI Subhas Chandra Bose will remain forever in the history of freedom of India. He sacrificed everything for the noble cause and spared no pains to achieve what was regarded as almost an impossible task. He was a leader of great courage, foresight and action. He will serve as a beacon light to the generations to come and will show the path of freedom. The ills from which our country is still suffering can only be cured by those qualities of head and heart that Netaji possessed. India is greatly in need of such leaders. May his ideas and thoughts permeate the minds of our younger generation to enable them to do their duty to the country.

I. D. Jalan

**N**ETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE has a unique record of selfless service and sacrifice in the cause of Indian Independence. He was a great and gallant fighter against British Imperialism and in that fight he laid down his life.

Netaji Bose as man and leader possessed rare qualities. He was a statesman of high character, great ability and sound political sagacity. He was also a great organiser. The Indian National Army would bear witness to his organising capacity and his inspiring leadership. The people of India showed great confidence in him by electing him twice as President of the Congress. In spite of differences of opinion over his approach to the political and economic problems of India, there could hardly be any doubt as to his sincerity, courage of conviction and spirit of service. He indeed takes rank among the gallery of the illustrious patriots and leaders who have shed glory on our motherland.

H. K. Veeranna Gowdh

**I** AM GLAD TO LEARN that the Overseas Publishing House propose to bring out a Commemoration Volume entitled 'Life and Work of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose' on the 15th August, 1954. It is a great pleasure to me to be able to join with others in paying tribute to the services rendered by this revered leader to our country. During the last 50 years there have been many who have done their utmost by example, precept and life-long service to promote the welfare of their country. Generation after generation in India will continue to bless and remember him for what he has done for them.

H. C. Mookerjee

**I** AM HAPPY TO LEARN that on August 15, 1954, the 7th Anniversary of our freedom, you are bringing out an illustrated commemoration volume entitled 'Life and Work of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose'. The part played by Netaji in the country's struggle for independence will be a source of constant inspiration to millions of our countrymen for ages to come. He truly lived and died for the Country.

I wish you every success.

Mishulal Gangwal

**N**ETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE Commemoration Committee deserves our thanks for their laudable venture to bring out a Commemoration Volume on the great patriot and leader.

Prasulla Chandra Sen.

I HAVE GREAT PLEASURE in paying my tribute to Netaji's memory on the occasion of the 7th Anniversary of our Independence. The dauntless spirit, and the feivour which he lent to the Freedom struggle will always remain enshrined in the history of the glorious fight that the country fought against foreign domination. Netaji had a superb organizing capacity and an indomitable will to pursue his goal, the most adverse circumstances notwithstanding. I wish the Commemoration Volume to be published by the Overseas Publishing House all success.

G B Pant

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IT IS A MATTER of pride for any public worker in India to associate himself with one who has done so much for the freedom of the country. Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was, since I first met him in the Calcutta Congress in 1928, in the forefront of the national struggle and our generation is well aware of the great role that he has played. His memory will live for long and the coming generations would be even in a better position to judge the life and work of Netaji.

I offer my respectful greetings to Netaji on the occasion of this commemoration.

Ajit Prasad Jaim

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IN THE OCCASION of the publication of the Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose Commemoration Volume, I wish to send you my good wishes on the great work you have undertaken.

The Life and Work of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose should be made widely known to all our countrymen. I hope this Commemoration Volume will help to do that. The ideals of Independent India are the same as those of Netaji. I am sure were he alive to-day he would have rejoiced at the spectacular progress we have achieved in the river-valley projects. The fruition of the Bhakra-Nangal hydel scheme and canals and many others of the kind throughout the land are signs of a new day for which Netaji worked and gave his life. The welding into one Bharatiya nation of the diverse peoples of India is a phenomena which would have pleased his heart. The Five Year Plans which are developing slowly but surely are signs that India is on the march. All these are heartening, but we miss at the present time the personality of Netaji, who, were he alive to-day, would have been able to give us mature guidance. We pay our homage to one of the most selfless men that lived and died for us.

R Ahmed

**T**HE life of Subhas Chandra Bose had been very eventful. Apart from his dynamic personality he was throughout dominated by his great patriotism. He was a stormy petrel of the Indian National Congress and won national and international fame as one of the front rank leaders of the Freedom Movement. Like other great national leaders he underwent suffering and sacrifice, and was particularly singled out by the British rulers for the harshest treatment.

When World War II broke out, he took the plunge and resorted to the use of arms with the support of the enemies of the British raised his Indian National Army and struck a blow for the freedom of the country.

Subhas Chandra Bose in rallying the Indian prisoners of war who were sacrificed by the British rulers and in raising a national army of liberation was inspired by the single aim and mission of his life—freedom of his country. He inspired disillusioned Indian soldiers with the vision of freedom and established the spirit of national unity and solidarity among them. Even those who disapproved his methods gave unstinted praise to his patriotism and his spirit of self sacrifice.

Human memory is proverbially short, but it is a sacred duty imposed on us to express our debt of gratitude to all the fighters and martyrs of freedom inspired by patriotism and who possess a record of service and sacrifice in the cause of their country's freedom. It is a poignant tragedy that Subhas Chandra Bose did not live to see the realization of his dream. But his countrymen will ever cherish with gratitude his memory.

Jivraj N. Mehta

**N**ETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE was a patriot and revolutionary of outstanding merits. His revolutionary career left a blazing trail of fame in the history of India's struggle for freedom. An illustrious son of India Netaji Bose by his glorious activities at home and abroad has written golden chapters in India's history and was one of those few patriots who put India on the map of the world. His exploits as leader of Azad Hind Fauz will inspire the people of India for generations to come. Netaji dreamed of a free and prosperous India and he worked ceaselessly for realising that dream. Free India to-day remembers him with gratitude and love drawing inspiration from his dedicated life. We pay our respectful homage to him on the occasion of the celebration of the Independence of India.

Atulya Ghosh

I AM GLAD TO KNOW that your Committee proposes to bring out a Commemoration Volume entitled "A Nation's Homage—Life and Work of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose" on the Independence Day. There was a long-felt need for such a publication and I congratulate your Committee for undertaking this work.

Netaji was a born leader. His whole life was a life of adventure and struggle and he risked everything for the liberation of our motherland. There are very few parallels in the history of our nation for the supreme sacrifices he made in the cause of country's freedom. A valiant and fearless fighter he stood firm like a rock throughout his life and remained true to his own convictions to the last. Ultimately he laid down his own life in our freedom struggle, and Death became glorified in his death. His life will continue to inspire generations to come, and I therefore welcome your idea of bringing out the proposed Volume which I hope will be an authoritative one. I wish your Committee all success in their undertaking.

Y B Chavan

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I AM VERY HAPPY TO learn that you are publishing an illustrated Commemoration Volume entitled "A Nation's Homage — Life and Work of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose". It is in the fitness of things that it should be published on our Independence Day for the attainment of which Netaji made such a substantial contribution and supreme sacrifice. I wish your attempt all success.

J K Bhosle

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I AM VERY PLEASED to learn that an illustrated Commemoration Volume in memory of Netaji is going to be published on the Independence Day this year.

I had the opportunity and privilege to work with him as a very close associate from 1920 until he left this country to direct the freedom movement from outside. I saw him at work in North Bengal Flood Relief in 1923 and when he founded the Forward Bloc, I was the Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Forward Bloc for a few months immediately after his arrest in 1940. I have the deepest respect for him, and I cannot express in words the feelings that I have for him. He was a source of inspiration and a beacon light to us.

Can we depict the Himalayas in their real greatness, however powerful the language. His love of India and struggle for freedom will go down in history to be cherished for all time to come.

His memory will be best preserved if we try to emulate him in our lives.

K N Das Gupta.



**I** FELT HONOURED INDEED when the Netaji Commemoration Committee asked me to give a message for their publication. Whenever we think of Netaji we are reminded of his great qualities, and especially of his unique organising ability and creative genius. His achievements laid the foundation of modern India and gave her the rightful place among the great nations of the world.

The ideals of Netaji must be more widely applied to our activities to-day. We can do this only by working with devotion to duty and real sincerity for building up a solid social structure based on sound economic life. This will not only raise the standard of living of the common people in our country but will also increase our prestige in international sphere. Real prosperity of the country largely depends on sound internal economy and wide international business relations on equal footing.

B. T. Thakur

**N**ETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE is a legendary figure in India's national resurgence. His spirit represents the urge of an age and his life tells the saga of a struggle.

At a comparatively early age he entered politics and his vigour, youth and idealism very soon inspired the emotion of young Bengal. Indeed his fervent patriotism and impatience with the ruling class had a somewhat romantic appeal. It fired the imagination of those who came in his contact. Repeated incarceration and other set backs did not deter him. He rose high and lofty as a permanent challenge to a mighty empire. This unflinching spirit very soon won him the heart of young India.

Netaji's thought and activity no doubt represent the extremist school of Indian politics. It may not be possible for all to agree with his views. But he remains the greatest patriot in a generation of patriots. His mysterious disappearance and later on the formation of the Indian National Army were the most remarkable events in South East Asia during the last War. The strength of organisation, fortitude and patriotic appeal of Netaji's Army make almost a lyrical piece in contemporary history. Never before had the forces of India's revolution acted with such effect outside the borders of India. The national song, the slogans and the salute of the I.N.A. have yet flavour of a passionate and sweet dream.

Though the valiant soldier died a premature death in the thick of the struggle, the spirit of the gallant martyr still lives among us. I have no doubt the message of his life will continue to inspire us for long.

—Anonymous

I AM GLAD TO LEARN that the Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose Commemoration Committee have undertaken to publish an illustrated Commemoration Volume on the Life and Work of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. Netaji's life was a saga of heroism, and even those whose political philosophy is different cannot but admire his courage. His vivid personality will go down in India's history.

B. M. Birla

NETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE was a unique figure in Indian politics with no predecessor nor any successor. He was the spirit of revolt personified. Soft as a flower and adamant like steel, even his closest friends could not move him an inch from the path he would set for himself. With an indomitable will to free Mother India from her bondage, Netaji moved like a giant from Europe to the Far East and died a Martyr.

Today, when the country faces so many difficulties we feel like saying "Netaji Subhas Chandra, India has need of thee"

Pannalal Saraogi

CONSIDER IT an honour and a privilege to associate myself with the happy proposal of the Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose Commemoration Committee to bring out a publication on the life and work of Netaji Bose. The name of Subhas Chandra Bose has veritably become a household word in our country. In the history of our country's fight for freedom, Netaji's sacrifices and contributions will occupy a very prominent place. His brilliant life and career was punctuated by numerous incidents spotlighting his fearless courage of conviction, honesty of purpose, and organising ability. A born soldier and fighter, he was a friend to be loved and an enemy to be feared. The political battles which he was forced into, against his will, were always fought at a high moral level. His great example of political probity and virtue will doubtless serve at once as a source of inspiration and emulation for future generations to come.

It is indeed a sad thought that the end of Netaji Bose is shrouded in mystery. He is reported, on good authority, to have died away from his country, so near and dear to his heart. It was not vouchsafed to him to be alive at the hour of his country's freedom and to share in the resulting joy. But he died a great death at the post of duty. I am sure he would not have wished a nobler end.

I beg, most respectfully, to tender my humble tribute to his great memory.

S R Rana

**M**ANY PERSONS HAVE occupied exalted positions in the public life of India including the presidentship of the Indian National Congress but few have devoted themselves to their work as sincerely and assiduously as Shri Subhas Chandra Bose. During the period when our country was dominated by the repression of foreign rule and when the conditions were becoming unbearable it was Subhas Chandra Bose who outlawed himself from his motherland to acquaint the wide world with the justification of the demand of the Indian nation for freedom to take their help in achieving the same and to fight the foreign domination from without the country. Cut off from his own family and motherland and close circle of friends and workers single-handed he organised the Azad Hind Government in the midst of the rigors of the World War II in foreign countries and made the Indian National Flag fly along with the national flags of other countries. The romantic story of his fight from without, the terrible risk which he undertook and the wisdom foresight and the tact with which he carried on the administration of Azad Government with his band of the I N A — distinguish him as from the other leaders of the country who have fought and died for their motherland. India has produced many fearless leaders but it will indeed be difficult to have a pair of Subhas Chandra Bose. Though gone from our midst for ever, he has left behind a burning zeal of patriotism which will ever glow in the hearts of the youth of the Indian nation.

I join with the rest of the country in paying my humble tribute and homage to the memory of this great leader which is unique in its character and magically inspiring in its spirit.

Gordhandas Gokuldas Morarji

**I** AM HAPPY to learn that your Committee is planning to publish an illustrated Commemoration Volume entitled 'A Nation's Homage—Life and Work of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose' on the Independence Day this year.

I congratulate the Committee on their undertaking and wish that the Volume will be unique and outstanding in that class of publications.

On this occasion I cannot but recall with deference the great sacrifice and endeavour of Netaji for India's Independence. Although Gandhiji paved the way for our Independence it was Netaji who expedited the grant of Independence to our country.

Laxmidas P Goculdas

# THOUGHTS

*“The Power of thought,  
the magic of the mind”*

—BYRON

## CIVILISATION AND CULTURE

**I**N INDIA today we are in the midst of a whirlpool of ideas. Numerous currents cross-currents and under-currents are flowing from all directions. A strange intermingling is going on and in the midst of confusion of ideas that has arisen it is not possible for an ordinary man to distinguish between good and bad, and right and wrong. But if we are to rejuvenate our country and guide it along the right path we must have a clear vision of the goal and of the path we shall have to travel in order to reach that goal.

**I**NDIAN civilization has just emerged out of the dark ages and is now entering on a new lease of life. At one time there was a genuine danger as to whether that civilization would die a normal death like the civilizations of Phoenicia and Babylon. But it has once again survived the onslaught of time. If we want to continue the work of rejuvenation that has begun we must bring about a revolution of ideas in the world of thought and intermingling of blood in the biological plane. Unless we refuse to accept the verdict of history and the considered opinion of thinkers like Sir Flinders Petrie, we have to admit that it is only by this means that old and worn out civilizations can be rejuvenated.

**I** AGREE with Sir Flinders Petrie that civilizations like individuals grow and die in a cyclic fashion and that each civilization has a certain span of life vouchsafed to it. I also agree with him that under certain conditions it is possible for a particular civilization to be reborn after it has spent itself. When this rebirth is to take place the vital impetus—the clan vital—comes not from without but from within. In this manner has Indian Civilization been reborn over and over again at the end of each cycle and that is why India in spite of her hoary antiquity is still young and fresh.

**I** CAN SEE very clearly the great cultural heritage of India. But that should not serve us as a cloak to hide India's helplessness, mass poverty, illiteracy and degradation. Let Religion and Philosophy

## CIVILISATION AND CULTURE

be-set aside for sometime, until we have made human beings out of the walking skeletons in India. Our present-day philosophy and religion should be food for the hungry, clothes for the naked, homes for the homeless. A decent living first, then comes philosophy.

I CANNOT admit any distinction between the East and the West. I see great and divine works accomplished both in the East and the West. There are great prophets and men of action both in the East and the West. Many eminent philosophers, thinkers, writers and artists are the gift of the West to the East, as also the East has got her great contributions to make to the West. For years long have I dreamt at bringing about a real union of hearts between the East and West, a lasting and eternal wedlock between the Asiatic genius and the Western civilisation.

TODAY we need men who will not deny, but accept the modern spirit of the western countries and integrate and enhance and sublimiate it with the religious and cultural genius of the East.

BEFORE we could think of any cultural relationship we have, first of all, to free India from the claws of the British Lion. Then we have to embark upon freeing India from many internal tyrants like the dead traditions, religious taboos, communal cancer, medieval feudalism of the Indian princes and many other evils. When we have sufficiently clothed our naked limbs and fed the walking skeletons, then we may give our attention to culture.

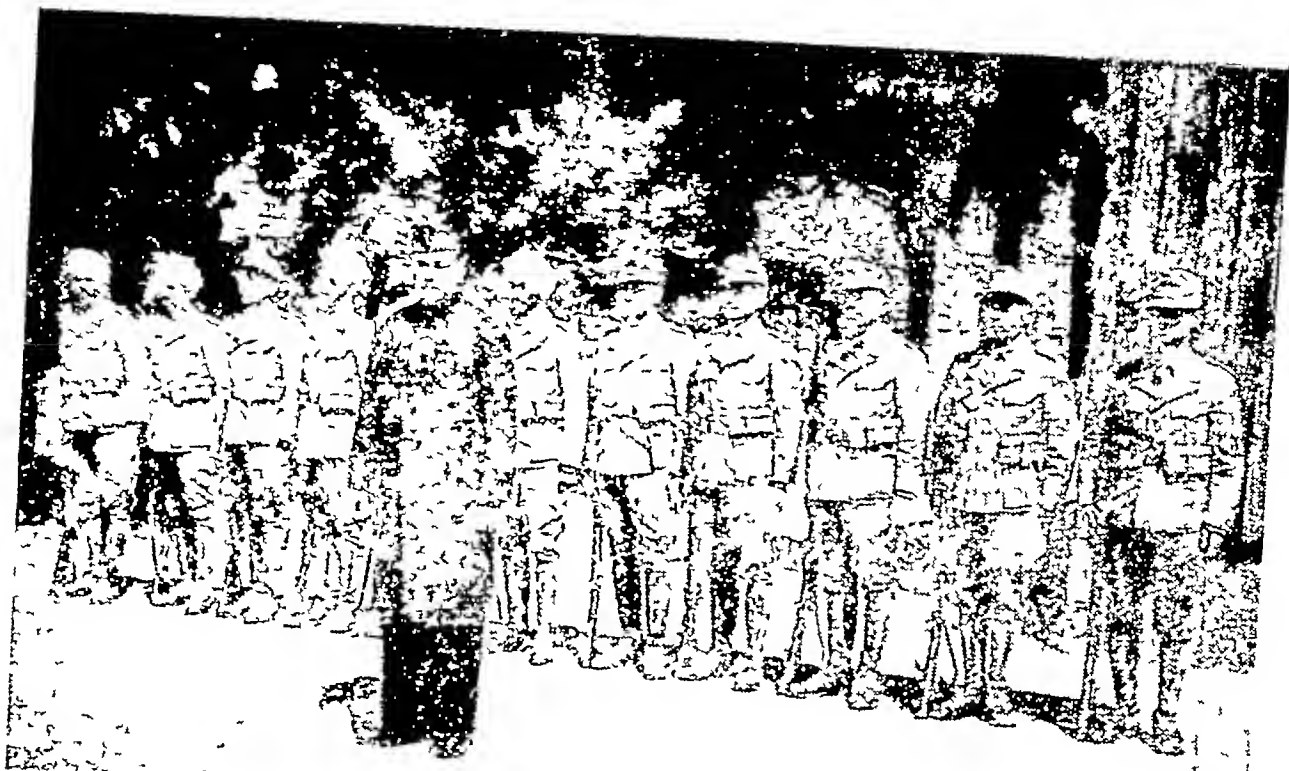
OPEN-MINDEDNESS has been one of the characteristic features of India, and India will grow on that national heritage.

## EDUCATION

I STRONGLY condemn the move taken by certain Indians to start Indian schools run by English teachers on the lines of English public schools. It is possible that some boys for example those who are mentally extrovert, may not suffer from a feeling of maladaptation and may feel quite happy in such an environment. But introvert children are bound to suffer and in that event the reaction against this system and all that it stands for is bound to be hostile. Apart from this psychological consideration, a system of education which ignores Indian conditions Indian requirements and Indian history and sociology is too unscientific to commend itself to any rational support. The proper psychological approach for a cultural rapprochement between the East and the West is not to force English education on Indian boys when they are young but to bring them into close personal contact with the West when they are developed so that they can judge for themselves what is good and what is bad in the East and the West.

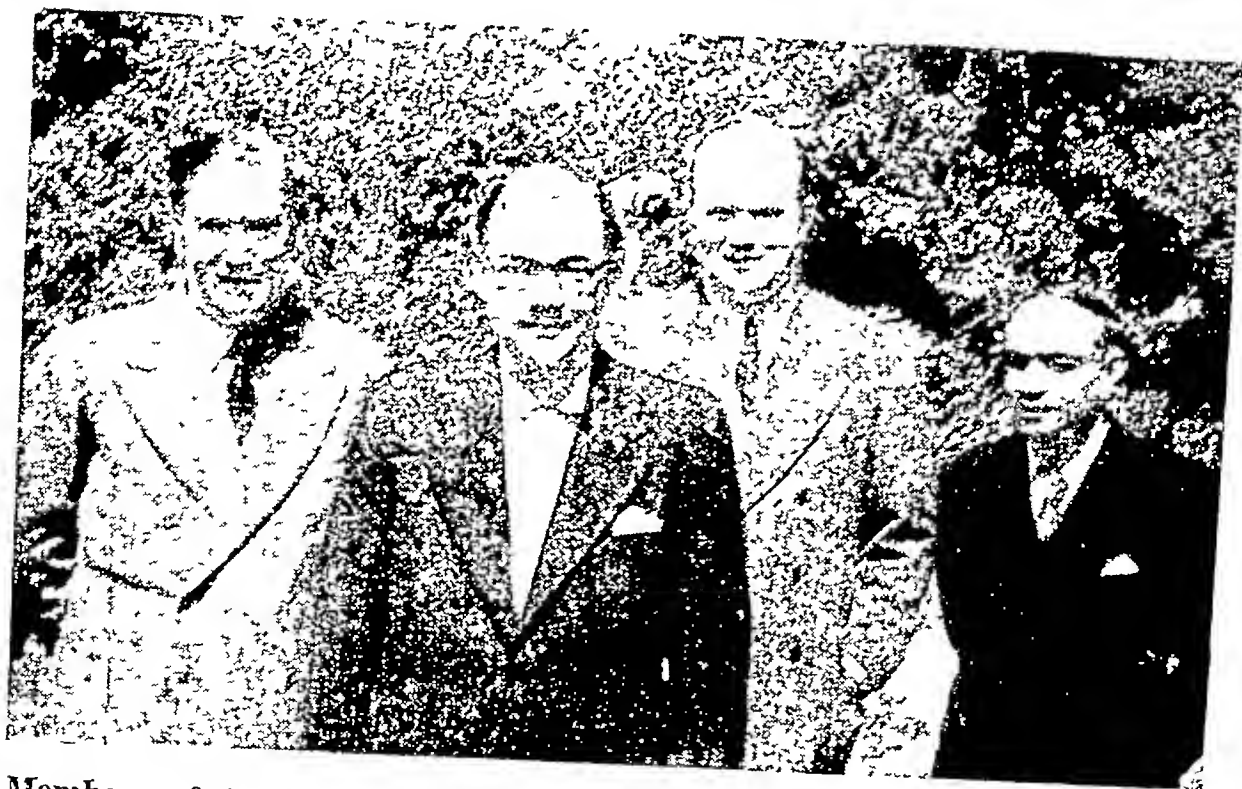
LOOKING back on my past life I feel inclined to think that I should not have neglected sports. By doing so I probably developed precocity and accentuated my introvert tendencies. To ripen too early is not good either for a tree or for a human being and one has to pay for it in the long run. There is nothing to beat nature's law of gradual development, and however much prodigies may interest us at first they generally fail to fulfil their early promise.

THOSE who tackle the problem of child education in India will have to consider the uncongenial influences which mould the child's mind at the present day. Of allied interest is the question of the lullaby songs which are sung by the mother the aunt or the nurse to rock the child to sleep or of the means adopted to induce an unwilling child to take its food. Too often the child is frightened into doing both. In Bengal one of the most popular lullaby songs describes the Bura (or the Hindri horde) raiding the countryside after nightfall. (It is certainly not a congenial song for a sleepy child.)



Netaji with some of the officers of the I. N. A in Berlin in 1942.

—Courtesy Mr N D Parikh



Members of the Indian diplomatic corps organised by Netaji in Berlin in 1942.

—Courtesy Mr. N. D. Parkh.





*This was the last picture of Subhas taken in India before his historic escape to Germany in 1931. On the left is his elder brother Satish, on the right mother Prabhavati Devi.*

—Courtesy Press Photo Association Calcutta

FROM my experience, I may, warn parents and guardians that they should be circumspect in dealing with children possessing an emotional and sensitive nature. It is no use trying to force them into a particular groove, for the more they are suppressed, the more they become, and this rebelliousness may ultimately develop into rank waywardness. On the other hand, sympathetic understanding, combined with a certain amount of latitude, may cure them of angularities and idiosyncrasies. And when they are drawn towards an idea which militates against worldly notions, parents and guardians should not attempt to thwart or ridicule them, but endeavour to understand them and through understanding to influence them should need arise.

EDUCATION and training should be provided for our political workers, so that we may produce a better type of leaders in future. This sort of training is provided by political parties in Britain through Summer schools and other institutions. With all respect to our workers who have played a glorious part in our struggle, I must confess that there is room for more talent in our party.

THE STUDENTS represent, as a rule, the most idealistic part of a nation, and it is because of their innate idealism that the students of the world feel that they are members of one great fraternity. It should be our duty to foster this sense of solidarity among our students, so that through them, the Indian people may be welded into one nation for all the time to come.

THE removal of illiteracy and grinding poverty, the equi-distribution of India's wealth among her working class people—for the world is today of the working class and the old Capitalist system is in agony—the abolition of enforced forms of inequality, the artificial barriers between creeds and castes in India, the abolition of the Zamindari system, and the medieval feudal relics in the form of the Indian princes etc., are to be undertaken with an iron rod. And we mean to achieve all these within the shortest time possible, and with the least agony of a revolution, which we envisage at the initial stages of creating a free and strong India. Her man-power and material resources will be so organized as to ensure the greatest possible happiness and security to the greatest possible number of the Indian citizens.

DIFFICULTIES gain their edge and weight because we, Indians, are so absurdly diffident. Read Shakespeare 'Screw your courage to the sticking-place and you'll not fail.'

WHAT I want is that our boys should learn the art of thinking quickly. The art of debate initiates one into the art of self-reliance which is surely a great gain. We, Indians, are too dependent on others—for action, views, initiative—everything.

# EQUALITY

**I**N ORDER to ensure equality we must get rid of bondage of every kind social economic, and political and we must become fully and wholly free. But freedom does not imply the absence of law. It only means the substitution of our own law and our own discipline. Discipline imposed on us by ourselves is necessary not only when we have attained freedom but is more necessary when we are struggling to achieve freedom. Therefore discipline whether for the individual or for society is necessary as basis of life

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**I**T IS POSSIBLE in a country like India and especially in families where conservative parochial sectarian or caste influences reign supreme, to grow into maturity and even obtain high University degrees without being really emancipated. It often happens therefore, that at some stage or other one has to revolt against social or family conventions. I was lucky, however that the environment in which I grew up was on the whole conducive to the broadening of my mind

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**T**HOUGH THE atmosphere in which I grew up was on the whole liberalizing there were occasions when I was forced into a clash with social or family conventions. I remember one incident when I was about fourteen or fifteen. A class friend of mine who was also a neighbour of ours invited some of us to dinner. My brother came to know of it and gave instructions that no one was to go. It might have been because he belonged to a lower caste or simply because on medical grounds it was considered inadvisable to dine out. And it is true that very rarely did we go anywhere for dinner. However I regarded my mother's orders as unjustified and felt a peculiar pleasure in defying them. When I took to religion and Yoga seriously and wanted freedom to go where I liked and meet whomsoever I wished I frequently came up against parental obstruction. But I had no hesitation in disobeying them because by that time I believed under the inspiration of Vivekananda that revolt is necessary for self fulfilment—that when a child is born its very cry is a revolt against the bondage in which it finds itself

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**I** SOMETIMES wonder how at a particular psychological moment a small incident can exert a far-reaching influence on our life. In front of our house in Calcutta, an old, decrepit beggar woman used to sit every day and beg for alms. Every time I went out or came in, I could not help seeing her. Her sorrowful countenance and her tattered clothes pained me whenever I looked at her or even thought of her. By contrast, I appeared to be so well-off and comfortable that I used to feel like a criminal. What right had I—I used to think—to be so fortunate to live in a three-storeyed house, when this miserable beggar woman had hardly a roof over her head and practically no food or clothing?

# EVOLUTION AND REVOLUTION

**I**F WE ARE to bring about a revolution of ideas we have first to hold up before us an ideal which will galvanise our whole life. That ideal is freedom. But freedom is a word which has a varied connotation and even in our country the conception of freedom has undergone a process of evolution. By freedom I mean all round freedom i.e. freedom for the individual as well as for society freedom for the rich as well as the poor freedom for men as well as for women freedom for all individuals and for all classes. This freedom implies not only emancipation from political bondage but also equal distribution of wealth abolition of caste barriers and social inequities and destruction of communalism and religious intolerance. This is an ideal which may appear Utopian to hard headed men and women but this ideal alone can appease the hunger of the soul

**O**CCASIONS will arise when we shall be hemmed in from all sides and it will appear as if we stand by ourselves cut off from the rest of the world. In such crises we should remember the pregnant words of the great Irish patriot who in the face of imminent danger cried out triumphantly— One man can save Ireland just as one man redeemed the world.

**T**HERE IS no inherent difference between evolution and revolution. Revolution is evolution compressed into a shorter period evolution is revolution spread out over a longer period. Both evolution and revolution imply change and progress and in nature there is room for both. In fact nature cannot do without either.

**A** REVOLUTIONARY movement for national liberation is not like a chance detonation which makes the air long prison walls topple once and for all. It is a slow laborious work of building up brick by brick a citadel of strength without which you can't possibly challenge the powers that be. The Bengal revolutionary movement at the dawn of this century was the first real movement real in the sense that it gave our helpless prostrate people the first hint about the reality of

their own, unaided strength. It was the first movement that created a nucleus of national consciousness, the consciousness that not only have we got the strength in us to struggle against a vastly superior organized power, but also convinced us that unless we learnt to be the architects of our destiny, others were hardly likely to stir a finger to help the orphans. History's verdict is that a nation gets the government it deserves.

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**T**HE TIDES DO recede but only to come back again, specially in the rains, with mounting force. They strike the solid walls for some time at flood-tide, but, it seems, only to troop away—shame-faced, defeated. After a time they appear again hurtling with a stronger impetus when this play of rising and subsiding is repeated. But the assaulting continues and the banks, their enemies, get weaker and weaker, imperceptibly, till the fateful day when chunks of them fall plop into the surging eddy and the battle is won.

# FREEDOM

**I**NDIAN nationalism is neither narrow nor selfish nor aggressive. It is inspired by the highest ideal of the human race viz. Satyam (the truth) Shivam (the good) and Sunderam (the beautiful). Nationalism has instilled into us truthfulness honesty manliness and the spirit of service and sacrifice. What is more it has roused the creative faculties which for centuries had been lying dormant in our people and as a result, we are experiencing a renaissance in the domain of Indian Art.

**P**OLITICAL institutions grow out of the social life of the people and are shaped by their social ideas and ideals. If we want to make India really great we must build up a political democracy on the pedestal of a democratic society. Privileges based on birth caste or creed should go and equal opportunities should be thrown open to all irrespective of caste creed and religion. The status of women should also be raised and women should be trained to take a larger and a more intelligent interest in public affairs.

**I** AM NOT one of those who in their zeal for modernism forget the glories of the past. We must take our stand on the past. India has a culture of her own which she must continue to develop along her own distinctive channels. In philosophy literature art science we have something new to give to the world which the world eagerly awaits. In a word we must arrive at a synthesis. We must resist the cry of "Back to the Vedas" on the one side and on the other side the meaningless craze for fashion and change of modern Europe.

**W**E WANT the fullest dose of freedom and we want it in every sphere of life. If we love freedom and love it for its own sake we cannot possibly tolerate bondage or inequality of any sort. Whether in the political or in the economic or in the social sphere—we must be prepared for a full application of the principle of freedom. Every human being—man or woman—is born equal and he or she shall have equal opportunities of development—this should be our dictum.

**W**HILE seeking light and inspiration from abroad, we cannot forget that we should not blindly imitate any other people, and that we should assimilate what we learn elsewhere after finding out what will suit our national requirements

**W**E WANT political freedom, whereby is meant the constitution of an independent India State, free from the control of British Imperialism. It should be quite clear that independence means severance from the British Empire, and on this point there should be no vagueness or mental reservation. Secondly, we want complete economic emancipation. Every human being must have the right to work, and the right to a living wage. There shall be no drones in our society and no unearned incomes. There must be equal opportunities for all. Above all, there should be a fair, just and equitable distribution of wealth. For this purpose, it may be necessary for the state to take over the control of the means of production and distribution of wealth. Thirdly, we want complete social equality. There shall be no caste, no depressed classes. Every man will have the same rights, the same status in society. Further, there will be no inequality between the sexes, either in social status or in law—and woman will be in every way an equal partner of man.



## COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

**H**OWEVER MUCH we may dislike modern industrialism and condemn the evils which follow in its train we cannot go back to the pre industrial era even if we desire to do so. It is well therefore that we should reconcile ourselves to industrialisation and devise means to minimise its evils and at the same time explore the possibilities of reviving cottage industries where there is a possibility of their surviving the inevitable competition of factories. In a country like India there will be plenty of room for cottage industries especially in the case of industries including handspinning and handweaving allied to agriculture.

**I**N INDIA today we are in the midst of a whirlpool of ideas. Numerous currents cross-currents and undercurrents are flowing from all directions. A strange intermingling is going on and in the midst of the confusion of ideas that has arisen it is not possible for an ordinary man to distinguish between good and bad and right and wrong. But if we are to rejuvenate our country and guide it along the right path we must have a clear vision of the goal and of the path we shall have to travel in order to reach the goal.

**A**FTER ALL what is the fundamental cause of our political degradation? That is the question. That is the question of mentality and if you want to overcome the slave mentality you do so by encouraging our countrymen to stand for full and complete independence.

**O**NCE THE desire for freedom is enkindled in our hearts it will need an adequate instrument in order to fulfil itself. For this purpose all our faculties—physical intellectual and moral will have to be reconditioned. We shall have to unlearn much of what we have learnt and learn for the first time what we never were taught. The body and the mind will have to undergo a new course of training and discipline in order to be fit for the task of achieving freedom. The external aspect of our life will also change. Luxury and comfort will have to be

abandoned, new modes of life will have to be adopted and old habits shunned

**T**HE ONLY reason why I stand for India's freedom, and believe that as a free nation we shall have a glorious future, is that I believe that we have sufficient vitality left in us to live as free men and to develop as a nation

**T**HERE can be no question of the Congress party withering away after political freedom has been won. On the contrary, the party will have to take over power, assume responsibility for administration, and put through its programme of reconstruction. Only then will it fulfil its role

**W**HATEVER happens to us individually in the course of this historic struggle, there is no power on earth that can keep India enslaved any longer. Whether we live and work, or whether we die fighting, we must, under all circumstances, have complete confidence that the cause for which we are striving is bound to triumph. It is the finger of God that is pointing the way towards India's freedom. We have only to do our duty and to pay the price of India's liberty

**N**O LAND need be afraid of a free India. Her freedom means emancipation for all the subject countries of the earth. Her freedom means resurrection of Asia and Africa, the two continents that fell victims to the white man's burden, the crucified continents of modern history

**M**EN ARE free to say about or interpret me in whatever way they like. But as far as I am concerned, I have nothing to do with German Racism, Fascist Dictatorship, and Japanese Militarism. I am aware of the British propaganda where they call me a "puppet of the dictators." But, my friends, I must do my duty. I remain a free man wherever I go. Neither the Germans nor the Italians nor the British can buy my soul, nor can I sell my freedom for anything underneath the sun

**I**F INDIA was to be a modern civilised nation, she would have to pay the price and she would not by any means shirk the physical, the military, problem. Those who have worked for the country's emancipation would have to be prepared to take charge of both the civil and the military administration. Political freedom was indivisible and meant complete independence of foreign control and tutelage. The war had shown that nation that did not possess military strength could not hope to preserve its independence

## GANDHIJI

**A**LTHOUGH in later years there was much difference of opinion between Gandhiji and myself as regards the course of action to be pursued to achieve India's independence and to make her great, my love and appreciation for Mahatmaji has always been on the increase. Gandhiji is the only man in modern India, who more than any single individual has brought India nearer her goal. Mahatmaji's personality is so commanding that even Pandit Nehru cannot always be critical about his words. But wherever I am, all that I do all are done as a humble servant of India, as a blood brother of and comrade-in-arms with my friends and colleagues in India, men like Gandhiji, Nehru, Patel and others.

**G**ANDHIJI'S services to the cause of India's freedom are unparalleled in contemporary history of not only India but perhaps of the world. He is essentially a man of faith, of action, of intuition and stands for values in human life. The more you know his dear personality the more you will love him. He is saint and, indeed, he is a Mahatma.

**M**Y PERSONAL opinion is that Gandhiji would have done better if he had either given himself up to a teacher's call or would have stripped himself off his politician's garb. History painfully teaches us that these two cannot be associated in one and the same individual without wrecking the one and the other—I mean both the politician's and the preacher's work.

**G**ANDHIJI is the greatest living soul among the known leaders in India. No single man could have achieved more in one single lifetime under similar circumstances.

**T**HE INDIAN people have learnt two things from Mahatma Gandhi which are the indispensable preconditions for the attainment of independence. They have first of all learnt national self-respect and self-confidence as a result of which revolutionary self-respect is blazing in

their hearts. Secondly, they have now got a country-wide organisation which reaches the remotest villages of India.

MAHATMA GANDHI has firmly planted our feet on the straight road to liberty.

IT WILL always be my aim and object to try and win his confidence, for the simple reason that it will be a tragic thing for me if I succeed in winning the confidence of other people, but fail to win the confidence of India's greatest man.

## IDEALISM, RELIGION, MYSTICISM

**W**HATEVER may be the ultimate truth about such notions as God soul and religion from the purely pragmatic point of view I may say that I was greatly benefited by my early interest in religion and my dabbling in Yoga. I learnt to take life seriously. Standing on the threshold of my college career I felt convinced that life had a meaning and a purpose. To fulfil that purpose, a regular schooling of the body and the mind was necessary. But for this self imposed schooling during my school life I doubt if I would have succeeded in facing the trials and tribulations of my later years in view of the delicate constitution with which I had been endowed from my birth.

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**T**HERE COMES a stage of doubt—not merely intellectual doubt like that of Descartes—but doubt embracing the whole of life. Man begins to question his very existence—why he was born for what purpose he lives and what his ultimate goal is. If he comes to a definite conclusion whether of a permanent or of a temporary nature on such problems it often happens that his outlook on life changes—he begins to view everything from a different perspective and goes in for a re-valuation of existing social and moral values. He builds up a new world of thought and morality within himself and armed with it he faces the external world. Thereafter he either succeeds in moulding his environment in the direction of his ideal or falls in the struggle and succumbs to reality as he finds it.

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**O**WING TO the inter relation between the soul and the body the neglect of the body not only weakens a nation physically but in the long run weakens it spiritually as well. India at the present moment appears to be suffering, not merely from physical weakness but from spiritual exhaustion as well—the inevitable result of our neglecting one aspect of life. And if we are to come to our own once again we have to advance simultaneously on both fronts.

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**H**UMAN nature is at bottom divine. The day of misunderstanding, abuse and persecution however long it may be will therefore have



Netaji's mother, Prabhabati Devi Bose, who passed away soon after  
Netaji escaped from India

—Courtesy Vanguard Studio, Bombay



Netaji with two of his colleagues watching Indian troop Manoeuvres  
in a German forest in 1942.

—Courtesy Mr N D Tarkh



Subhas in Tarz Cap in the shadows of a pyramid in Egypt

—Courtesy Mr N D Tarkh

its end Even if we have to meet death for the sake of our sincerest convictions, we shall through death attain immortality

I RETURNED from England as an idealist and that idealism has always grown within me I feel it will never die as long as there is breath in my nostrils Although my bitter experiences with the political life, not only in the British-owned India, but also everywhere underneath the sun, not only of today, but of all times gone by, as disclosed to us by historians, have brought me to conclusions different from those of Mahatmaji, the root of our idealism, nevertheless, is the same ideals of humanity, freedom and socio-political progress

IF WHAT is imposed by law becomes self-imposed by sheer force of conviction, with a burning desire to achieve a great ideal in life, there is hardly anything impossible for such a one It is ours to work, but God's to make His garden flower and fructify

THE SEEDS of spiritual vision and religious passion are sown, ingrained, as it were, in the heart and soul of everyone born in Hindustan There is no receding from this great path Unless one is propped up by the spiritual fortress of purity, nothing worthwhile in this world is ever achieved A life without self-examination and self-purification is not worth living

IN THE task of freeing my mind of superstitions, Vivekananda was of great help to me The religion that he preached—including his conception of Yoga—was based on a rational philosophy, on the Vedanta, and his conception of Vedanta was not antagonistic to, but was based on scientific principles One of his missions in life was to bring about a reconciliation between science and religion, and this he held, was possible through the Vedanta

I HAVE often asked myself what is the purpose of my life? Why am I born and grown on this earth? The answers given to this ever-recurring question by the few thoughtful minds is there, in the pages of history, of philosophy and religions I know that until one faces this fundamental question and solves it for oneself, there can never be peace in his or her heart

THE UPANISHADS are the masterpiece of human wisdom and the loftiest document on religious realisation But mind you, not the Upanishads alone but the scriptures, and sages of every race, of every clime We are citizens of this world, which is today becoming "pocketable" All those ancient barriers between man and man are being



broken down and the cultural and spiritual heritage of every people are brought to the doors of every one

**T**HE MORE I think the more convinced I am that religion primarily and essentially is a personal affair and cannot be a part and parcel of the State machinery. But the State may defend the existing religious opinions that are not detrimental to the common good. It is part of that democratic freedom which the state should grant to both individuals and societies whether religious or otherwise existing within the state. But I have always agreed to that famous saying attributed to Jesus. Render unto Caesar the things that belong to Caesar and unto God the things of God. Nothing truer than that.

**I** BELIEVE that the East has still enough spiritual energy left to sift what is really worthwhile from the multiprismatic phases of the Western civilisation and graft them on to our cultural heritage enhancing it, impregnating it.

**T**HE SPIRIT of Jesus Christ and the heart of so many so-called Christians are two different things if not diametrically opposed to each other. The Christian West crucified both Christ and Christ like men. Christ likeness is the only criterion to judge who is a Christian and who is not.

**W**E DO not need any rebelling. Let us all try to live up to the ideal and when one is truly a Hindu and truly a Christian and truly a follower of the ideal of the Koran, we will all meet on the common platform and will speak the same language.

**W**E WILL give to our country above all friendliness, comradeship and equality between men and women, between men of different religious persuasions, and labour alone will be the sole standard for judging who is to live and who is not. Hereditary religious profession etc. will not decide one's career. No birth, no caste, no creed shall ever be sufficient ground for any one to ascend to power, glory or leadership.

**I**F I FAIL in fight, go and tell my people that Hindustan must rediscover her own soul, the spirit of her ancient past, the eternal verities behind the Varnashrama Dharma and her mighty past. Let my India grow on the eternal wisdom and experience of her sages, truly wedded to the best cultural heritage of every civilization on this earth, eastern or western, ancient, medieval or modern. Let my India be the land where everyone will feel quite at home, where freedom will grow.

more and more, where every shackle will fall Let my India rediscover her idealist roots, her poetry, her vivid and multiprismatic imagination O let my country awake, let my Motherland arise, let my India grow!

**N**ARAD SAYS in the Bhagavat that a man could not possibly help others when he himself was in the coils of a serpent I admit the force of the simile For do what we will we can only see a few steps ahead the rest is darkness But one can't sit by, can one? If one can't shake off the serpent-coils of Karma one must trudge along somehow carrying them clinging around one's neck if only to do one's bit even when one was not a master of one's own destiny There is a fatality in things, as Napoleon used to say Anyhow it is idle to deny that things seldom turn out in conformity with human logic So I have taken to politics and activism

**I**F WE build our ideals thinking first and last of our family happiness, won't the ideals be wonderful!

**T**HERE IS nothing that lures me more than a life of adventure away from the beaten track and in search of the Unknown In this life there may be suffering, but there is joy as well, there may be hours of darkness, but there are also hours of dawn To this path I call my countrymen

**W**HEN a man hasn't felt the heart-beats of a movement his criticisms must be superficial To expect Jawaharlal or a communist to say anything profound about religion is like expecting a Moderate to say something inspiring about the spirit of youth which stakes everything for complete independence No, I am not hard on Jawaharlal He gives one the impression of an outsider when he airs his views on the service or disservice religion has done to mankind And that is why he has never said anything striking about it His criticisms are not inspired by any kernel experience of religion, but based only on the observation of its social effects

**H**AS NOT each of us a sphere of work allotted to us taking 'work' in the broadest sense? And is not this sphere conditioned by our past karma, our present desires etc and our environment? Nevertheless, how difficult it is to understand or realise our proper sphere of work! This sphere of work is the external aspect of our nature or 'dharma' It is so easy to say—'live in accordance with your swadharma'—but so difficult to know what one's dharma is It is there that the help of a Guru becomes so necessary—and even indispensable

**W**HEN I pause to reflect calmly, I feel the stirring of a certitude within that a Vast Purpose is at work in the core of our fevers

and frustrations Could only this faith preside over every moment of our conscious life, wouldn't our suffering lose its poignancy and bring us face to face with the ideal bliss even in a dungeon?

ONE MAY from time to time—and on occasions for a long spell—need to remain withdrawn in silent contemplation in perfect seclusion But here there is a danger the active side of a man might get atrophied if he remained cut off too long from the tides of life and society This need not apply to a handful of authentic sadhakas of uncommon genius but the common run the majority ought to take to action and service as the main plank of their sadhana

WHAT IS the use of running down Faith which after all gives some thing to hold on to amidst the contradictions of an enigmatic universe? If one can get at a knowledge that knows it is another matter but so long as we have only an ignorance that argues—well there is a place still left for Faith—even faith may be a glint from the knowledge that knows however far off and meanwhile there is not the slightest doubt that it helps to get things done

I NEVER discountenance Guruvad at its best. But that doesn't mean there is no danger involved in the cult one makes of this. Do you not see how Guruvad is accepted generally by the man in the street and why? Just to have the delectable feeling that the Guru will do everything for you Hasn't the purushakara of India been sapped too often by petitioning Dalva and hasn't Guruvad in practice served too often as a cloak for our national inertia?

WE ARE faultlessly moderate only in one thing cultivating love of others Could we but break the back of our fear then we might perhaps act with more real abandon I know to my cost how difficult it is to love our neighbours let alone loving our enemies When I was an adolescent I read somewhere that Buddha had said that one should love all creatures with the same intensity as the mother loves her only child I can still recapture the joy—the wings it gave me As I grew in total knowledge I diminished in power of love—of the type Buddha spoke about When you look at life don't you find a warning writ large here there and everywhere that there is no royal road to any realisation worth having? No there never gleamed for me a path leading anywhere that was strewn with roses

# IMPERIALISM

**I**T IS midsummer madness to expect the Englishman to give up his Empire voluntarily. We should, once for all, give up hope of any compromise with British imperialism. Freedom is won only when the British and their allies quit India for good.

**M**R CHURCHILL, the supreme representative of the British people, gave an indication of his mentality when he told the Lord Mayor of London, that he did not like even the expression "British Commonwealth", preferring the expression "British Empire" instead. The last imperialist Prime Minister of England will, no doubt, do his very best to preserve that Empire, and any offer that he will make to the Indian people will be only for the purpose of deceiving them.

**B**RITISH imperialism remains inexorable. Men may come and men may go, empires may come and empires may go, but British imperialism goes on for ever—that is what our rulers continue to think. You may call it lack of statesmanship or political bankruptcy or midsummer madness.

## INDIAN NATIONAL ARMY

**T**HE ENEMY that has drawn the sword must be fought with the sword. Civil disobedience must develop into armed struggle. And only when the Indian people receive the baptism of fire on a large scale will they qualify for their freedom.

**O**UR INDEPENDENCE admits of no compromises. Freedom is only won when the British and their allies quit India for good. And those who really want liberty must fight for it and pay for it with their own blood.

**M**Y COMRADES in the war of liberation! Today I demand of you one thing above all. I demand of you blood. It is blood alone that can avenge the blood that enemy has spilt. It is blood alone that can pay the price of freedom. Give me blood and I promise you freedom.

**W**HEN THE Englishmen are about to leave there is no use begging independence or getting it as a present from other nations because such an independence cannot last long. The thing we get without labour is not a lasting one. Such freedom will be gone very soon. We do not want that we should beg charity for such a thing as freedom. We are young and we have a sense of self respect. We shall take freedom by the strength of our arms. Freedom is never given. It is taken.

**F**REEDOM can never be had by begging. It has to be got by force. Its price is blood. We will not beg freedom from any country. We shall achieve freedom by paying its price. It does not matter how much price we have to pay for it.

**Y**OU HAVE the honour to be the pioneer soldiers of Azad Hind Fauj. Your names will be written in golden letters in the history of India. Every soldier who is martyred in this holy war will have a monument in Free India. The coming generations will shower flowers on these

monuments                      The drums of Indian independence have been sounded    Only we have to prepare for the battles ahead

**I**NDIA SHALL be free—and before long. And a free India will throw open the prison gates, so that her worthy sons may step out of the darkness of the prison cells into the light of freedom

**I**N ADDITION to the present slogan of the INA, namely 'Chalo Delhi', another slogan will be added from today and that will be 'Khoon, Khoon, Khoon' This means that we shall shed our blood for the freedom of the 40 crores of people of India. Similarly, we shall shed the blood of the enemy for the same cause. The slogan for Indian civilians who are in the south will be "Karo sab meehawai, ban sab fakir" (Sacrifice everything, everyone must become fakir). Look at those who have volunteered to join the Indian National Army and who are getting the necessary training. They do not know how many of them will live to see India free. They are getting ready with the one thought of shedding their last drop of blood. They are getting ready to go to a free India or to die on the way. There is no programme of retreat for them.

**I**T IS THE FINGER of God that is pointing the way towards India's freedom. We have only to do our duty and to pay the price of India's liberty.

**I** APPEAL TO YOU to cherish the same optimism as myself and to believe like myself that the darkest hour always precedes the dawn. India shall be free—and before long.

**W**ITH THE SLOGAN 'Onward to Delhi' on our lips, let us continue to fight till our National Flag flies over the Viceroy's House in New Delhi, and the Azad Hind Fauj holds its Victory Parade inside the ancient Red Fortress.

**I**N THIS STRUGGLE there is no going back, and there can be no faltering. We must march onward and forward till victory is achieved and freedom won.

## LIFE

ONE WHO DESIRES to swim with the tide of popular approbation on all occasions may become the hero of the hour—but he cannot live in history

THE ROSE IS THRICE beautiful because of its thorns, and so is human life. Would not life be stale and insipid without sacrifice and persecution?

WE HAVE ALL BEEN born slaves but let us all resolve to die as free men. And if we are not to see India free in our own life-time let us at least die in the attempt to free India. The path to freedom is a thorny path—but it is also the path to immortality

LASTLY ALL THESE fundamental principles viz. justice equality freedom and discipline presuppose or imply another higher principle—love. Unless we are inspired by a feeling of love for humanity we can neither be just towards all nor treat men as equal nor feel called upon to sacrifice nor enforce discipline of right sort.

ALL MY LIFE I have been a servant of India. Until the last hour of my life I shall remain one. My allegiance and loyalty have ever been and will ever be to India alone no matter in which part of the world I may live

THOUGH THERE MAY be no immediate tangible gain no sacrifice is ever futile. It is through suffering, and sacrifice alone that a cause can flourish and prosper and in every age and clime the eternal law prevails—the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church

AN INDIVIDUAL may die for an idea but that idea will after his death incarnate itself in a thousand lives

**T**HIS IS THE technique of the soul. The individual must die so that the nation may live. Today I must die so that India may live and may win freedom and glory.

**B**APTISM, initiation, "Deeksha" etc have to me but one meaning viz, consecration of our life at the altar of freedom. Complete self-consecration will not be possible in a day. But as we become more and more imbued with the desire for freedom we shall get a taste of joy unspeakable, and we shall realise more and more that life has a meaning and a purpose. Only one thing in life will have a value for us, viz Freedom.

**L**IFE HAS BUT one meaning and one purpose, viz, freedom from bondage of every kind. This hunger after freedom is the song of the soul—and the very first cry of a newborn babe is a cry of revolt against the bondage in which it finds itself. Rouse this intense desire for freedom within yourselves and your countrymen — and I am sure India will be free in no time.

**I** AM AN extremist and my principle is—all or none.

**I**T IS EVIDENT that nobody can lose through suffering and sacrifice. If he does lose anything of the earth earthly, he will gain much more in return, by becoming heir to a life immortal.

**W**HAT GREATER solace can there be than the feeling that one has lived and died for a principle? What greater satisfaction can a man possess than the knowledge that his spirit will beget kindred spirits to carry on his unfinished task? What better reward can a soul desire than the certainty that his message will be wafted over hills and dales and over the broad plains to every corner of his land, and across the seas to distant lands? What greater consummation can life attain than peaceful self-immolation at the altar of one's cause?



## NEHRU

**I**N POLITICS social organizations in his ideas of loyalty his outlook on ethics communism, science—when he speaks about such things Jawaharlal is always worth attending whether you agree with him or no. Besides he is a fascinating man even though a man can't become a leader of the people on the strength of his personal charms alone. But I have sometimes felt that he has attained to his unique position because somehow he has managed to get into the good graces of Madame Luck. What other term can possibly explain his inexplicable popularity everywhere? He is with every one. I would be almost tempted to say vernacularly that the was a *barer gharer mashi koner gharer pishi*—if he hadn't been what he is a man of integrity. And yet you can't get away from the fact—a rather strange phenomenon in the world of today—that he is looked upon by almost everybody in India as an infallible guide on everything even though on his own showing he vacillated at every single step of his. All the same you find the peasant hails him as his spokesman labour as their protagonist, the communist patronizes him the capitalist dotes on him the artist hails him as a pathfinder in belles lettres the mill-owner gushes over him ignoring the disconcerting fact that he is actually spinning away without conviction to prove a worthy heir to Gandhiji and a friend to the *daridranarayana* a word he abhors.

**J**AWAHARLAL may love Gandhiji or adore him or do genuflection to him day and night, that is none of my business. But this so-called talk of personal loyalty which forces one continually to cramp oneself can't be right—especially in politics where such movements are so contagious. Compare Gandhiji himself. Didn't he love Gokhale? But whenever it came to the point he took good care to follow his ideal. An artist may afford to be decorative. He may even hug the charming inconsistencies to cut a picturesque figure. But for a man of action a statesman an administrator and above all for one who has to grow into a world figure—it were madness even to dream that one could do without a backbone.

YOU MAY admire Jawaharlal heart and soul, and he is an admirable man on many counts, but one thing I will beg leave to prophesy if he really wants to serve India through politics he must first of all make sure of his foundations. For if he doesn't take care to seek solid ground under his feet, the ground won't seek his feet either consequently, he will never be able to stand perpendicular—anywhere.

## SELF-ANALYSIS

**T**HIS IS a practice of self analysis I have regularly indulged in ever since and have benefited greatly thereby. It consists in throwing a powerful searchlight on your own mind with a view to knowing yourself better. Usually before going to sleep or in the early morning I would spend some time over this. This analysis would be of two kinds—analysis of myself as I was at that time and analysis of my whole life. From the former I would get to know more about my hidden desires and impulses, ideals and aspirations. From the latter I would begin to comprehend my life better to view it from the evolutionary standpoint, to understand how in the past I had been struggling to fulfil myself to realise my errors of the past, and thereby draw conclusions for the future.

**I** HAD NOT practised self analysis long before I made two discoveries both important for myself. Firstly I knew little about my own mind till then that there were ignoble impulses within me which masqueraded under a more presentable exterior. Secondly, the moment I put my finger on something ignoble or unworthy within me I half conquered it. Weakness of the mind unlike diseases of the body flourished only when they were not detected. When they were found out they had a tendency to take to their heels.

## SEX

**T**HE DREAMS most difficult to get rid of are those about sex. This is because sex is one of the most powerful instincts in man. But we must remember there is a periodicity in sex-urge which occasions such dreams at certain intervals. Nevertheless, it is possible at least to get partial relief. That, at any rate, has been my experience. The method would be to picture before the mind the particular form that excites one in his dreams and to repeat to himself that it does not excite him any longer—that he has conquered lust. For instance if it is the case of a man being excited by a woman, the best course would be for him to picture that form before his mind as the form of his mother or sister. One is likely to get discouraged in his fight with sex-dreams unless he remembers that there is a periodicity in sex-urge which does not apply to other instincts, and that the sex-instinct can be conquered or sublimated only gradually.

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**R**EGARDING the doctrine of Brahmacharya Gandhi and I hold one and the same view. Nothing worthwhile is ever achieved in this world, nor any seed is sown in time that will bear fruits in eternity, but through Brahmacharya, which is undivided dedication of oneself to one ideal, worthy of a thinking man. We call it in Bengali *Ekaagrohitta mon*, which means one-pointedness of our mind towards a definite course or ideal in life.

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**P**ERHAPS the most bitter struggle I had with myself was in the domain of sex-instinct. It required practically no effort on my part to decide that I should not adopt a career of self-preferment, but should devote my life to some noble cause. It required some effort to school myself, physically and mentally, for a life of a unceasing effort, which continues till today, to suppress or sublimate the sex-instinct.

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**A**VOIDANCE of sexual indulgence and even control of active sex-desire is, I believe, comparatively easy to attain. But for one's spiritual development, as understood by Indian Yogis and Saints, that is not enough. The mental background—the life of instinct and impulse

—out of which sex-desire arises has to be transformed. When this is achieved, a man or woman loses all sex appeal and becomes impervious to the sex appeal of others he transcends sex altogether. But is it possible or is it only midsummer madness? According to 'Ramakrishna' it is possible and until one attains this level of chastity the highest reaches of spiritual consciousness remain inaccessible to him. Ramakrishna we are told was often put to the test by people who doubted his spirituality and mental purity but on every occasion that he was thrown in the midst of attractive women his reactions were non-sexual. In the company of women he could feel as an innocent child feels in the presence of its mother. Ramakrishna used always to say that gold and sex are the two greatest obstacles in the path of spiritual development, and I took his words as gospel truth.

# YOUTH

**T**HE YOUTH of this age has become self-conscious, it have been inspired by an ideal and is anxious to follow the call of its inner nature and fulfil its destiny. Its movement is the spontaneous self-expression of the national soul, and on the course of this movement depends the nation's future weal. Self-conscious youth will not act, but also dream; will not only destroy, but also build. It will succeed even where others may fail, it will create for us a new India, and a free India, out of the failures, trials and experiences of the past.

**A** YOUTH ASSOCIATION is characterized by a feeling of dissatisfaction with the present order of things, a desire for a better order accompanied by a vision of that order. Youth movements are not reformist in outlook but revolutionary. A feeling of restlessness, of impatience with the present order, must come into existence before any youth movement can start.

**P**ARTICIPATION in politics is necessary for the development of character and manhood. Thought, without action, cannot suffice to build character, and for this reason, participation in healthy activities, political, social, artistic etc — is essentially necessary for developing character. Bookworms, gold medalists and office clerks are not what universities should endeavour to produce, but men of character, who will become great by achieving greatness for their country in different spheres of life.

**I**N A COUNTRY like ours which is a vast continent of irreconcilable tangles one has to learn to serve one-pointedly, without counting the cost. But our youths grow quickly into hard old skins of prudence and sobriety. And then they won't budge an inch out of their orbit of 'safety-first'.

## MISCELLANEOUS

**N**O GREAT ACHIEVEMENT whether internal or external is possible without a revolution in one's life. And this revolution has two stages — the stage of doubt or scepticism, and the stage of reconstruction.

**P**ROGRESS IN life means a series of doubts followed by a series of attempts at resolving them.

**L**IFE IN CALCUTTA like life in any other modern metropolis is not good for everybody and it has been the ruin of many promising souls. It might have proved disastrous in my case had not I come there with certain definite ideas and principles fixed in my mind. Though I was passing through a period of stormy transition when I left school I had by then made certain definite decisions for myself—I was not going to follow the beaten track come what may. I was going to lead a life conducive to my spiritual welfare and the uplift of humanity. I was going to make a profound study of philosophy so that I could solve the fundamental problems of life. In practical life I was going to emulate Ramakrishna and Vivekananda as far as possible and in any case I was not going in for a worldly career. This was the outlook with which I faced a new chapter in my life.

**O**NE INTERESTING discovery I made during the voyage to England—Anglo-Indians develop a love for India and the Indian people when they are out of India. In the boat there were a few Anglo-Indian passengers. The nearer we came to Europe the more homesick—I mean India sick—they became. In England Anglo-Indians cannot pass themselves off as Englishmen. They have moreover no home there and inevitably the farther they go from India the closer they feel drawn towards her.

**L**ITTLE DO YOU know how much Bengali literature has drawn from the earlier history of the Punjab in order to enrich itself and edify its readers. Tales of Punjabi heroes have been compiled and sung by

our great poets including Rabindranath Tagore, and some of them are to-day familiar in every Bengali home Aphorisms of Punjabi saints have been translated into elegant Bengali and they afford solace and inspiration to millions in Bengal This cultural contact has its counterpart in the political sphere, and we find Punjabi political pilgrims meeting ours not only in the jails in India but also in the jails of distant Burma and in the wilds of the Andamans across the seas

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**T**HE NUMBER OF philosophers and thinkers produced in India in British regime, the number of writers and poets that enslaved India has produced, the artistic revival in spite of the British rule, the scientific progress made by the Indian people in spite of many difficulties in the way of their education, the standard attained by our leading scientists as compared with the scientists in the different parts of the world, the industrial progress made by India as the result of her own effort and initiative, and last but not least, the distinction which we have attained in the field of sport, all these go to show that, in spite of being politically subjugated, the vitality of the nation has remained intact

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**I**NDIA POSSESSES all the resources, intellectual, moral and material, which go to make a people great And India is still living, in spite of her hoary antiquity, because she has to become great once again, because she has a mission to perform India's mission is firstly to save herself, and thereafter to make her contribution to the sum-total of culture and civilization of the world In spite of half-a-hundred of handicaps, India's contribution today is by no means a small one Just imagine for a moment what her contribution would be, if she were free to develop her life according to her own genius

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**O**UR SALVATION consists not in denying Industry, Science and Machine, the symbols of the age, but in controlling them and maintaining the supremacy of man over them In that I think those prophets of modern Bengal, beginning from Ram Mohun Roy down to Vivekananda and Tagore, are more in line with the spirit of the age

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**O**UR WISDOM consists in so ordering the State as to serve the real interests of not only a few philosophers and saints here and there, but the security and prosperity of the Common man

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**I** HAVE TO hobnob day and night with scoundrels, mostly

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**I**N THE WORLD of theory and speculation and dream—that is where action is not involved in the same sense as it hourly is in politics or statecraft—one can be perfectly free to follow one's various predilections



But when your action is going to influence, as a political leader must, then I say you can't go on indulging your various whims in public. I know well we are not always consistent, nor even wish to be but once one chooses to lead an activist a life one has to come to conclusions with one's own self and decide to act at least with a plausible harmony if not flawless uniformity. Otherwise it will be chaos. Practical politics is not quite a stage set for art nor is it a field where chameleons are bred. If a politician changes his hue and persuasion every third day he will only make confusion worse confounded.

NOT ONLY THE MILITARY but also the man in the street should be attuned to the rhapsody of the Western music of the happy blending of both Eastern and Western music

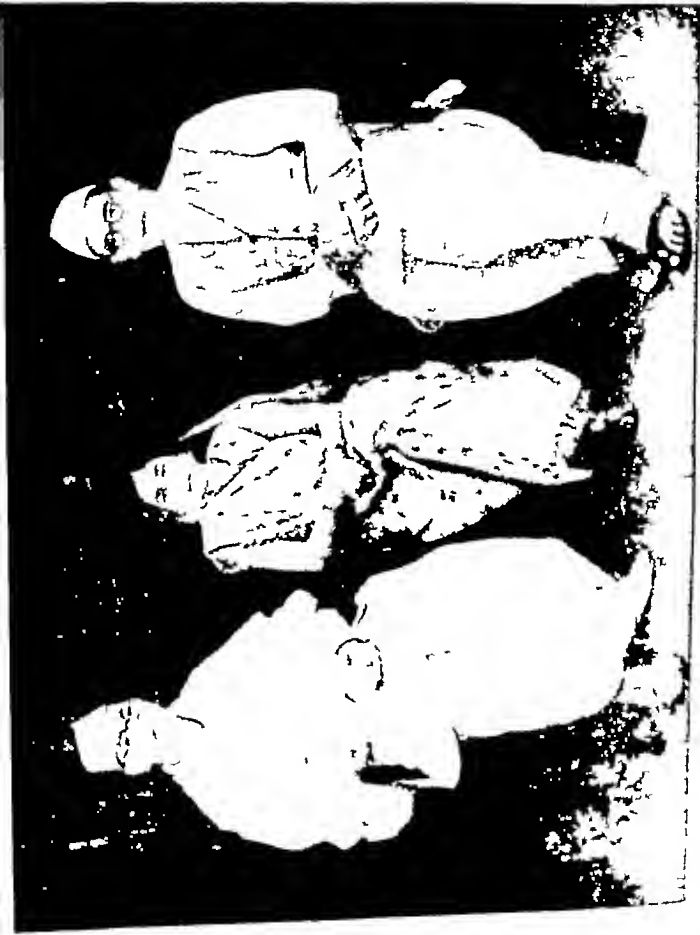
ALL THAT ARE BIG are not always great, nor all that are great are always big. They say that Marshall Stalin Winston Churchill and President Roosevelt form the big three. They are indeed big. But where to find the great three?

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA as a young man sought for some job to support himself and his poor family. In vain he sought for a job as he met with refusal everywhere although a prophetic genius was burning within his heart. The world apparently seems to ignore the few thoughtful and prophetic minds.

BITTER EXPERIENCES have brought me to the conclusion which thinkers like Vnehlvnnll John Baptista Vico Carl Gibbons and others had arrived at that politics or state government and the gospel of salvation form two different fields and one cannot overstep into the other.

I SAW SURENDRANATH BANERJI for the first time at a meeting of the Calcutta Town Hall in connection with Mahatma Gandhi's Satyagraha campaign in South Africa. Surendranath was still in good form and with his modulated voice and rolling periods he was able to collect a large sum of money at the meeting. But despite his flowery rhetoric and consummate oratory he lacked that deeper passion which one could find in such simple words of Aravindo. I should like to see some of you becoming great great not for your own sake but to make India great so that she may stand up with head erect amongst the free nations of the world. Those of you who are poor and obscure—I should like to see their poverty and obscurity devoted to the service of the motherland. Work that she might prosper suffer that she might rejoice.

**M**Y CALL CAME even from my early days, when I was still a student in England. Nationalism fired me and my whole being became a willing holocaust to the cause of freedom for my Motherland. Nothing narrow, nothing sectarian, is here. The same freedom I want for India, I want for England, for Italy, for Germany and all nations under the sun. On returning from England, I went straight to Gandhiji, then in Bombay, at the height of his fame, and I sat at his feet.



Left Subhas Chandra Bose with Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel D. Parikh

# REMINISCENCES

By Nathalal D. Parikh, M.L.A., J.P., Bombay

*Shri Nathalal D. Parikh, who writes this article, was a close associate and great personal friend of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. He met Subhas for the first time at Clinic La Ligniere at Gland in Switzerland, where Subhas Babu was looking after Vithalbhai Patel during his last days. Even after this meeting, Subhas used to be a guest of Mr. Parikh in Bombay and Antwerp, and as such the latter had rare opportunities to study the personality of this great Indian leader. In the article below Mr. Parikh gives his reminiscences which are of a unique type.*

IT was a case of love at first sight with me when I met Subhas in October 1933. Mr. Vithalbhai Patel was then taking treatment at Clinic La Ligniere at Gland in Switzerland. His condition was extremely serious, and the only Indian looking after him was Subhas, who had gone to Europe for a surgical operation. While at Geneva, Subhas came to know of the seriousness of Vithalbhai's illness, and so he brushed aside his own urgent medical needs, and stayed at Gland to nurse Vithalbhai. We on our part did not know anything about it. On 10th October, 1933, when I was in London with Shri Bhogibhai M. Jhaveri, I got a message from Dr. Mrs. Dutt informing us of Vithalbhai's serious illness and asking me whether I and my friend would be willing to go to Gland with necessary funds to fly Vithalbhai to India if doctors permitted the trip. We agreed immediately, and when we reached Gland on 12th October morning, to avoid putting Subhas to any inconvenience, we made arrangements for our stay at the residence of the village head and then went to the clinic. But Subhas was so considerate that he had already fixed up for our stay at the clinic, and we had no alternative but to accept his invitation.

What struck me most at our first meeting was Subhas's remarkable forehead which remained lustrous and fascinating in spite of the long illness through which he was passing. This lustre appealed to me and showed his great personality. His eyes were redish, like those of a 'thygi', with a far away look, a look showing indifference to the things

that engross the mind of ordinary human beings. He seemed inspired by an idealism which made him indifferent to his own sickness and suffering, trials and tribulations.

His love for India was deep and all pervading. For 20 hours out of 24 he thought of nothing else but his country and how to achieve its freedom. As a result of this intense concentration on one subject he like many a saint and seer suffered from insomnia. Just about two to three hours sleep was enough for him but neither his illness nor his insomnia interfered in any way with his tremendous output of work.

Later on whenever he used to be my guest at Antwerp and Bombay he used to go on dictating pages after pages of articles and letters without interruption grant interviews discuss complicated party problems settle quarrels and tensions arising from personal rivalries utterly indifferent to his own illness. In fact once he started on his work he used totally to forget all about his own physical condition.

When I met Vithalbhai at his sick bed the very first night we had a long talk and towards five in the morning when Vithalbhai was having coffee he said to me "I don't think I am going to last long now but I do want you to do one thing and that is to look after Subhas. In him I see a great fighter with an incomparable determination to carry on India's struggle without any kind of compromise. In him I see service and sacrifice incarnate. When I think of him I do not know how to describe his qualities. Even at this early age he has all the merits of a great leader and his statesmanship and diplomacy are something which I have not seen in any other young man in India. He has developed will power that is unbreakable is really a merit with him and all his fundamental decisions are irrevocable. Where can you find such a man? It is for this reason that all my hopes are centred on him and I am leaving all my monies to him to be disposed of for any foreign propaganda that he may decide upon for the uplift of India."

A few days afterwards on 22nd October 1933 Vithalbhai was extremely serious struggling and fighting with death. At 2.30 p.m. throwing aside the oxygen pipe he said, "It doesn't work. Please turn me to the side" and the moment I turned him Vithalbhai was no more. Subhas used to carry a copy of the Geeta with him and wrapping this copy in a Kashmir shawl he put it in the coffin stepped back a few steps stood to attention and then gave a military salute. That was Subhas's way of doing things. Subhas accompanied the body to Marseilles put it on a P and O steamer which brought it to Bombay. He did everything thoroughly and efficiently nothing sloppy and slipshod ever pleased him. It was after completing his duty towards his departed father that Subhas left for Vienna to undergo the surgical operation for which he had gone to Europe.

Since those days in October 1933 I was in constant contact with Subhas and his letters revealed a transparent personality.

who hated hypocrisy and humbug and led a crystal clear, straightforward, honest and upright life. The message which Vithalbhai had given me was constantly in my mind, and I have throughout the rest of Subhas's years tried to do my best for him as a humble devoted friend.

As a guest I found him absolutely perfect, considerate towards others in the house, and putting himself last in everything. He was so simple-minded that nothing evil would occur to his mind, and his humility was something the like of which I have not found in anybody else.

Subhas never believed in regular hours for lunch or dinner. He liked to go to pictures whenever he could get away even for an hour or so. He used to take keen interest in listening to radio programmes, specially on foreign affairs, from radio stations all over the world. His grasp of the international situation, changing from day to day, was amazingly accurate. He could thus predict months in advance the developments taking place, and his forecasts invariably proved correct. It is impossible for India to calculate the tremendous loss it has suffered on account of his death.

Some months before Vithalbhai's death, De Valera, the then President of Ireland, had extended an invitation to Vithalbhai to be his guest. As Vithalbhai's health began sinking, he asked Subhas to fulfil the engagement and, accordingly, wrote to De Valera explaining the position that Subhas occupied in the Indian freedom struggle, and requesting that he may be given the fullest facilities to study the freedom struggle that Ireland had waged. De Valera readily agreed. Accordingly, Subhas went from Antwerp in February 1935 to see the famous pacifist thinker M. Romain Rolland in Paris, had a long discussion with him on non-violence and the Indian Independence Movement, and then went to see De Valera, and was his guest for several days. I need not refer to his discussions with Monsieur Romain Rolland and his stay in Ireland.

In early 1935, Subhas Babu came to Antwerp for the first time after his treatment in Vienna and stayed with me for over three weeks. A right royal welcome at Berchem, Antwerp with all the Indian friends was given to Subhas Babu at the station. We had a few receptions and functions etc., in his honour. The day after Subhas Babu's arrival in Antwerp, there was a press conference at my residence. A good number of press representatives were present. He surveyed the entire Indian political, social and economic situation, and ably answered all the questions put to him. The press representatives were thoroughly satisfied with Subhas's survey of Indian affairs. While talking about publicity, he appealed to the press to do its best for India.

One day while on our regular week-end trips we went round sight seeing the Belgian country-side and also visited the famous Grotte-de-Han caves. These caves are amazingly well kept by the Belgian Government. There are waterways through the caves and the lighting effect is so marvellously manipulated that one is amazed at the vista that it produces when finally coming out into the open country. It is a miracle of artistic and scientific achievement. Subhas was amazed to see the way the caves were maintained, and coming out by the waterway he was so much affected by the whole scenery that he said: "What a wonderful thing we have seen. I feel it like a dream."

While on a similar week-end trip going from one place to another we came to Spa famous for its natural springs, went to a hotel, booked our rooms, had our food, then went out for a walk, and finally entered the Casino. We went around the concert hall but as it was not the season the hall was deserted. So we thought of going to see the games of chance in another hall. Before doing so we had to go through the formality of becoming members of the club and as we were filling the forms the manager came to me and said in French: "Excuse moi monsieur moi. Je ne peux pas laisser entresser votre ami avec le bonnet." "Excuse me Sir, I can't allow your friend (referring to Subhas) to go in with the cap on." Subhas Babu understood the talk and said: "If that is your rule I will respect it, but I will also respect my national dress and not remove the cap." The manager was profuse with apologies but said that he was helpless and hoped that he had not hurt Subhas's feelings. Subhas told him that he (the Manager) had to do his duty and urged us to go in and see the games but of course we all came out of the casino. Next morning after visiting the water falls of Pexade De Coe we returned to Antwerp.

Every evening at Antwerp a few Indian friends used to come to see Subhas and he used to have long discussions with them on Indian political and social problems. He was thinking of planning for India since then and formed the National Planning Committee as President of Haripura Congress and got cable acceptance by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru of the chairmanship of the National Planning Committee.

Subhas used to receive a large number of letters from all over Europe and India during his stay with me and the mail began expanding from day to day. One day the postman remarked: "Sir, I am coming up to deliver the post because your post box can't contain this big mail of Mr. Chandra Bose. I have read in this morning's paper about this great man of your country and am happy to be of some service to him. Subhas was known as Chandra Bose on the continent though I did not understand why they made this the fashion. However, I asked Subhas about his large mail and he told me that the longest letters came from

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru "While I had gone to Switzerland to pay my respects to and inquire about the health of Shrimati Kamalaben Nehru, of revered memory, we had long discussion on foreign propaganda for our country As a result of these, these long letters", said Subhas

Subhas used to come to my office every day in the morning at ten and sit in a room adjoining mine, dictating letters to my stenographer One day a very old diamond broker, about 90 years of age, with a patriarchal beard came to my room, on business visit While I was examining diamonds, his eyes turned to Subhas who was dictating letters in the next room Turning to me he said awe-stricken, "What an appealing personality he has, so imposing, so noble and so grand! You have not introduced me to him Please tell me all about him " Then I said to him that he was Shri Subhas Chandra Bose of India Intervening he exclaimed, "Oh! that great revolutionary of India! Is he the same of whom I have heard " I said, "Yes", and then I took him to the other room and introduced him to Subhas With all love he blessed Subhas and said, "I am closely following the freedom movement of your country under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, the greatest living man of our age With a team of veteran freedom fighters and young leaders like Pandit Nehru and your good self the achievement of India's freedom is a foregone conclusion I may not be alive to see that but remember my words " Again wishing the best of luck and God-speed to Subhas he left my office

One evening after dinner we were sitting with friends at my residence when the B B C was giving a running commentary on King George V's health, and at last it announced, "the King is slowly moving towards the close the King is coming to the end of his life the King is dead, Long Live the King " As we heard these words Subhas said, "Of course, we wish well to the new King of England, but I do hope he will comprehend the earnest wishes of 350 million people of India to get freedom We want that Indo-British problems should be settled amicably It will be in the interest and well-being of both the countries "

Nearly every evening in Antwerp there were dinner parties, and Subhas used to sit quite long after dinner, give talks on something or the other with lots of tit bits and jokes At one such party Subhas said "When I was in Badgastein, someone told me that he had heard a lot about Hindus in India, and that nowadays he read about the Mohamedans in the press He asked me to tell him what type of Hindus were these Muslims"? Subhas continued, "I laughed and laughed and explained to that friend all about the different communities in India He was then satisfied The idea in telling you this little joke is that India is not getting proper publicity, and that is why we must all do something to see that India gets much needed publicity"



Subhas had a wonderful power of reasoning. He never resorted to brow beating, bullying or hectoring tactics. He exhibited a rare foresight and his vision was always clear. If I go on writing on the day today happenings in details it would be a big volume in itself on Subhas Babu.

The British Consulate in Antwerp naturally wondered why a businessman like me was bothering himself with politics and inviting a man like Mr Subhas Chandra Bose. So they made inquiries from the Diamond Club Antwerp. They were told that Mr Parikh and his Indian friends had very good connections with some of the Indian leaders, princes, industrialists and artists. The Diamond Club officials had invited some of these people to visit the Diamond Club and the Diamond factories. They were further told that even a porter at the railway station would ask an Indian visitor whether he had informed Indian people staying there and if not he could take him to their place. Such had been the fine generous traditional hospitality of Shri Parikh and his friends. The office bearer of the Diamond Club had been invited to many a function by these Indian friends. Shri Parikh was a nationalist to the core and would always do his best to serve his country. Since 1925 when the Indians started making their home there they had found them to be fine gentlemen well behaved, honest and straightforward. Their credit in the market was A One.

After a few days Subhas Babu decided to leave for Paris to meet Mr Romain Rolland and then sailed from Le Havre and reached Ireland since he had no visa for Great Britain. My wife, myself and friends gave him a hearty send off and we missed him immensely when the train for Paris started. Before boarding the train he turned to Mrs Parikh and friends and said, "I cannot sufficiently thank you for all that you have done for me during my visit here and I shall always treasure the kind feelings of all of you." For Nathalalbhai I would content myself by saying, "Better not said than said."

Some months before the Haripura Congress Subhas wrote to me that Mahatmaji and the Working Committee had decided to put him up as an official candidate for the Haripura Congress presidency. Mahatmaji had also suggested that he should go to Europe for a change for four or five weeks as his duties as Congress President would make heavy call on his energy. So Subhas decided to go to Europe and I requested him to stay at my place at Antwerp for a couple of days. He accepted my invitation and stayed at Antwerp for a few days.

At Haripura, the dignity and decisiveness with which he conducted the proceedings impressed everyone. In fact he looked like a veritable bridegroom. After the Congress session many of his friends suggested that it was time for him to get married. To all of them he used to give

one set reply, "Have I got time to marry? How can I have divided love? I have dedicated my life to my country, India But, one never knows "

After the Haripura session many top-ranking Congress leaders invited Subhas Babu to be their guest at Bombay He had already agreed to stay at my place in Bombay, and stuck to his promise, in spite of other pressing invitations That was the characteristic of Subhas He carried out his promise whatever the difficulties and kept to his friends through thick and thin Even as Congress president he remained as humble and affectionate as ever

Subhas's programme while he was my guest in Bombay was extraordinarily crowded He used to get up at 6 o'clock in the morning, take coffee or fruit juice, then keep busy at his desk for a while and then start interviewing people till 2 o'clock in the afternoon Thereafter, he used to take lunch, a nap for about half an hour, and then start on the same round again, attend meetings, functions, receptions etc After twelve o'clock at night when he used to be free, he would sit chatting with me, till 2 to 2-30 in the morning, discussing interesting events of the day and the different types of persons he had met

His next visit to Bombay was for attending the Working Committee meeting which used to be at Bapu's residence at Juhu I used to accompany him there every day Once Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, asked me as to how I could find time to be with Subhas all throughout the day I respectfully said, "Sir, when can I get such an opportunity to serve the leaders of our country?"

One morning I asked my family members to go to Juhu to pay their respects and pranams to Bapu Sardar Saheb introduced us to Bapu Bapu asked my wife as to how Subhas could live on vegetarian diet when fish was the main food of Bengal? Mrs Parikh said "From my experience of him in Europe as well as here I can say that he was not so particular about diet As a matter of fact he liked vegetarian delicacies "

Whenever in Bombay Subhas liked to meet the foreign diplomats and generally after midnight to have a quiet talk One day after such a meeting we went out for a walk in a bright moon light to Marine Drive, now known as Netaji Subhas Road, and reached Nariman Point Looking at the sky and with a far away look he said, "I see as clearly as a vision before my eyes that within the next six months the nations of Europe will be involved in a deadly war The international developments are getting more complicated every day, leading to a crisis which can only be resolved by war It is our duty at this juncture to prepare the country, so that we may be able to launch a struggle at a time when England will have no alternative but to give in That is the task before the country, and I hope the Congress will take full advantage of the situation " The prediction proved true, for in about six months war clouds burst over Europe

The facts regarding Subhas Babu's election to the presidency of the Tripuri Congress are well known and I need not go into the details. Suffice it to say that though for several months before his election Subhas Babu was not keeping good health, he doggedly stuck to his decision to contest the election and had a systematic campaign, which a man of lesser determination would have abandoned for various reasons.

When he came for the Tripuri session, I could see that his physical condition was very bad as he was having a very high temperature. Panditji Sardar Patel, Maulana Azad and Dr Rajendra Babu called on him to inquire about his health. They advised him to go to Jubbulpore for treatment. In reply to all of them he used to say 'How can I abandon my duty at such a moment?' I would prefer to die at Tripuri rather than go to hospital. Some time after the Tripuri session Subhas Babu resigned the presidency of the Congress and it took him a few months before he got well. Then he came to Bombay for the All India Congress Committee meeting which was to consider an important policy resolution. Subhas Babu was determined to oppose that resolution because it was against his revolutionary fighting spirit. The official resolution was passed by an overwhelming majority. Subhas expected all the leftists to support him against this resolution and so announced a meeting to be held at the Framji Cowasji Institute. He had a hurried conference with the leading leftists at my residence but ultimately no political party joined him in this open revolt. Subhas Babu was left completely alone with his friends and followers.

The meeting at the Framji Cowasji Hall was a revelation of the fire that raged in Subhas's mind. He did not worry about being left alone but made a most rousing speech surveying the developments that had taken place in the Congress and announced his decision about starting the Forward Bloc. He called a meeting of those who believed in his ideology and a conference was announced to be held in a short time at Bombay. Before announcing the Committee of All India Forward Bloc he asked me whether I would join the Bloc and its All India Working Committee and be its Treasurer. I respectfully told him 'I shall most willingly carry out your wishes'.

I need not go into the details of the working of the Forward Bloc. After the Forward Bloc Conference at Nagpur in 1940 Subhas Babu wanted to pay his respects to Mahatma Gandhi at Sevagram and I asked him to telephone to Mahadev bhai and get an appointment. Mahadev bhai immediately consulted Gandhiji and fixed up the time at 6 p.m. I accompanied Subhas Babu to Sevagram and when we went in to meet Bapu we were told that Bapu would soon return from Varanasi where he had gone for a Working Committee meeting. After a few minutes Gandhiji arrived and we followed him. Bapu and Mahadev bhai of revered memories were there and greeted Subhas Babu and then left the room. While we were motoring to Sevagram Subhas had to tell me that I should

stay with him during the talk with Gandhiji as it was going to be of a very important nature, and he wanted that I should be well acquainted with the same. After listening to Subhas at great length, Mahatmaji said, "Subhas, I have always loved you. You are keen on launching some mass movement. You thrive when there is a fight, you are terribly emotional, but I have to think of several factors. I am an old man now, and must not do anything in haste. I have the greatest admiration for you. Regarding your love for the country and determination to achieve its freedom you are second to none. Your sincerity is transparent. Your spirit of self-sacrifice and suffering cannot be surpassed by anybody. But I would like these qualities to be used at a more opportune moment."

On this Subhas said that that was the most opportune moment, and that it was impossible to think of any other situation in which India would be better placed to start the struggle. Gandhiji replied, "Why do you think that we cannot get better opportunities later on? I am sure we will have many such opportunities. Whether England wins or loses this war, she will be so weakened by it, that she will not have the strength to shoulder the responsibilities of administering the country after the war, and with some slight effort on our part she will have no alternative but to recognise India's independence. Both politically and morally, I feel that we should not be hasty in launching a movement at the present juncture. My conscience tells me to wait for better times." On this Subhas said, "Bapu, if you give a call the whole nation will respond to it." Gandhiji said, "Even if the nation is ready, at a moment like this I must not do anything that is inopportune." Subhas said, "If you think that this moment is inopportune, I want your blessings on me for starting such a movement."

Gandhiji "You don't need my blessings, Subhas. How can I bless a movement which I consider inopportune and which I feel is morally unjustifiable now? You have got the qualities of a great leader, and if your conscience tells you that this is the best time for striking out, go ahead and do your best. If you come out successful I will be the first to congratulate you. But my advice to you, Subhas, is not to be hasty. You are too emotional, and you must realise that everyone who talks of supporting you will not do so when the testing time comes. So be careful in whatever you do. You can always write to me and consult me. My heart is entirely with you, my love for you and your family is great, and, therefore, I would not like you to do anything that will inflict any unnecessary suffering. I would like to tell you again that India will get better opportunities in future, and will be in a better position to give a fight to England than it is now."

I was wondering why Subhas Babu had asked me to stay with him at the meeting. It was a fateful meeting. In fact it turned out to be Subhas Babu's last meeting with Bapu. He wanted me to remain with him to know my reactions. Immediately after this meeting Subhas

Babu came to Bombay with me and this was the last time he stayed at my place, before going to Calcutta and then starting the Holwell satyagraha

During his last visit to Bombay one evening at about 2 O Clock in the morning he suggested that we should go out for a walk. It was a fine moonlit night. While returning home he stopped awhile looked at the sky and said "What a death it would be if one were to meet it while flying on one's country's mission? I would prefer such a death to dying in bed. It would be simply wonderful when one can keep working till the last breath of one's life for the cause of the country. When I heard this I wondered whether even this prophecy would come true. The wishes of saints and seers are generally fulfilled, and I was not surprised when in 1945 we got the news of his death in a plane crash. Like the rest of the country we were of course shocked beyond imagination and would not like to accept the news as true but all the same the question occurred to me again and again. Did Subhas meet the kind of glorious death he had desired?"

While in Bombay half a dozen friends from the Frontier had come to me and I had put them up on the ground floor of my residence. They stayed here for three days and Subhas had long discussions with them. He made inquiries about the situation on the Indian frontier and the movement there. He was then preparing for his escape.

The German radio was actively supporting the Forward Bloc in its broadcasts and Subhas's mind was moving in that direction. After the Frontier friends had left, Subhas Babu proceeded to Calcutta and started the Holwell Satyagraha. He was arrested and detained. While under detention he announced his decision to start a hunger-strike if he was not released by a fixed date. The Bengal Government knowing well the reaction of the hunger strike decided to release him. As soon as he was released I left for Calcutta via Delhi where I had to attend a Forward Bloc meeting. Immediately after that I reached Calcutta about the last week of December 1940 and stayed with Subhas Babu till 5th January 1941.

When I met him at his residence I was surprised to see him with the beard which he had grown in the jail. I felt that he was planning something and asked him why he had started wearing a beard. He said "We shall talk tonight many things." He used to interview friends only in the morning since he was advised by his brother the late Dr. Sunil Bose not to exhaust himself. His court case had to be postponed by his lawyer because of his health. On one occasion the magistrate when presented with an application for his release remarked that Subhas was giving interviews to lots of people. On this Subhas Babu's Counsel replied "Granting interviews to the public is part of his treatment. How can he improve if these interviews are

refused? They are the very life-blood of his existence. For a politician there could be no great punishment than to be deprived of such discussions. It is a psychological necessity." The magistrate thereupon agreed and granted the postponement.

That afternoon Subhas Babu told me that he was expecting a reply from Mahatmaji to his letter sent through his relative. He had again stressed his viewpoint and requested Bapu to give the nation a call for action. That night we talked about Forward Bloc and its party organisation and about various things as if he was leaving instructions before his departure. I asked him what was in his mind. He said, "The German radio is strongly supporting the Forward Blocists, and I have a feeling that one can do something more from outside the country. I am for any kind of movement that will help India to achieve freedom." I asked him whether he had made up his mind to send somebody out of the country for such work. He asked me as to who would be the person who would take up such responsibilities. I named a few friends, but he discounted them all for various reasons. He asked me whether I would stay on with him and tell Mrs. Parikh to go back to Bombay. I said that I was ready to do whatever he wanted me to and that I would explain to my wife the position and, if necessary, he could put in a word too. I thought in my mind that Subhas had already decided to go out of the country, and wanted me also to be with him. I told my wife that Subhas Babu's health was not so good, and that if she did not mind she could go back to Bombay by herself and leave me for some days more with Subhas Babu. My wife said that she was willing to stay on as long as Subhas Babu liked. Next day Subhas said to my wife, "I want Nathalalbhai to stay with me, so would you mind going to Bombay alone?" My wife replied, "I don't mind Mr. Parikh staying on as long as you desire, but why do you want me to go away?" He said to her, "It is already over three weeks since you left Bombay and naturally you might be anxious to see the children, and that's why I suggested you to go but if you desire to stay on, it is quite all right."

That afternoon when we were having tea in Subhas Babu's room, he received a reply from Mahatmaji to his letter sent a few days before with a special messenger. Bapu made it perfectly clear in the letter that the time was not ripe for a mass movement, and told Subhas to wait and have confidence in him. "I know that you would like to go ahead, whatever the circumstances. So I leave it to you to do what you think best." In short Bapu had said, "We both remain as we were. Neither of us have been able to convince the other and that is the end of it."

Subhas Babu expected this reply from Bapu and so moved on to finalise the future course of action. That night after dinner

we sat together and he said to me 'I have extremely important duties to be placed on your shoulders. I am going to take you into complete confidence and you will have some delicate work to look after in India when I am away. The C.I.D. will be after you. Gandhiji is bound to start Satyagraha within two years because I know the British will not give in. You must try to keep out of jail but if it happens naturally one has to go. I want you to remain out simply because you will get confidential messages from me which will be highly important and extremely risky. You will be running greater risk than going to jail but I know you are tactful and you will be able to handle the situation properly.' I replied 'I shall do everything to carry out your orders. What I feel more is to be with you rather than remain behind. But if it is destined for me to remain here, well I shall do so.'

While we were continuing our talk after a cup of coffee I told Subhas Bahu that there was one thing which was uppermost in my mind and that was when he would be back in the country. He said 'Nathalalbahai who can tell about the return?' My inner urge is for creating a second front outside the country which will force the hands of the British to give in and so one has to take risks, whatever be the results. The next day I was going to leave Calcutta for Bombay and so from morning about 10 O'clock we were together. Messages had to be conveyed to friends, funds had to be raised and lots of other things had to be done. The moment for parting arrived the car was ready to start for Howrah station. Both of us wished him well and I embraced him and left his room. While we were in the car he came out in the balcony and waved to us. I can never forget that sight which I felt in my heart was going to be the last Darshan of this great patriot. When the car started tears rolled down my eyes. I can never forget that sight. What a destiny for me to have remained behind!

For about two years there was no news from Subhas Bahu. Of course we used to hear him on the German radio.

In early 1944 I was surprised to see a tall well built young man asking my servant to meet me. I came out of my study and found that he looked an absolute stranger. I asked him what he wanted and then giving a salute he said 'Sir I have a message from Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose head of the provisional Government of Azad Hind. I felt that the man was honest but to try him out I said 'I know these methods employed by the C.I.D. and I am sorry I cannot believe your story.' He replied 'Sir I say on oath that what I say is as true as I am standing here and I shall convince you by the further proof of the currency notes and also half a dozen gold rings which I am carrying with me for my expenses. This was given to me by the Intelligence Department of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind before we fled from Calcutta.' I

If you are now convinced, sir, about my bonafides, then I shall talk to you of all that happened, before and after Netaji's arrival in the Far East. I then requested him to tell me all about the movement in South East Asia. He said, "Before Subhas Babu reached Japan and met Rash Behari Bose, he made it perfectly clear to the Japanese Government that he would not help in the formation of the Indian National Army and mobilise Indians in South East Asia unless he was first guaranteed that in the event of the defeat of the British, Japan would not interfere with Indian affairs and will recognise her complete independence. He made it clear beyond the shadow of doubt that there would be no strings attached to any help that Japan might give. On the basis of this undertaking Netaji undertook to lead the Indian National Army and the civilian population of South East Asia to fight British Imperialism. Netaji never yielded to anybody on this fundamental principle of equal status and accepted Japan's help when everything was guaranteed as he desired." The gentleman continued that while in Europe Netaji showed the same firmness to Herr Hitler and Sgr. Mussolini. Shri Rash Behari Bose conveyed to Subhas that the Japanese Government had accepted all his terms and then Subhas Babu took that perilous submarine voyage to Japan. When Netaji arrived Indians flocked round him ready to do or die at his call.

He then told me all about the formation of I N A, the Rani of Jhansi Regiment and the spirit of the Indian people in the Far East. Finally he told me that he would meet me whenever necessary. Another friend of his, he said, would also meet me.

The news of Subhas's marriage in Germany came quite as a surprise to everyone in India. During his later school days, Subhas had come in contact with the writings and speeches of Swami Vivekananda and as a consequence thereof, had decided to live the life of a Brahmachari and to devote himself to the uplift of the Indian masses. This decision was strengthened by an experience which he had while he was sitting at leisure on a maidan in Calcutta. Regarding this experience, Anthony Elenjmittam in his book "the Hero of Hindustan" quotes Subhas as saying, "Years ago, on one December morning, when I was walking alone in a maidan of Calcutta, I had a wonderful experience. The breeze was then blowing, the green grass, the open space and the trees around me became living reality. Then I felt what the Vedic seers saw and proclaimed that this whole universe is a living organism and that my salvation consists in realising myself in it. There was then not "I and thou" for me, but only the ocean of "Who am I" in which I was then immersed. A new light, a new inspiration, came to me that day. That experience thrilled my body, soul and mind and all of them became "One" at that wonderful moment. In that blessed hour I had a glimpse, as it were, into an ineffable something, an ecstatic vision, a rapture, in which I saw and heard things which it is hard for mortals to describe. Then all the dark corners of the world



became lit up and I experienced the divine significance of human existence. The thrill and vividness of that vision was such that every time I felt wavering or despondent in later life by merely remembering that blessed vision I gathered strength and never lost heart since. At that time a wedding of my heart to that lofty ideal took place. The writings of Gandhiji were still fresh in my mind, specially those passages in which he spoke about the ideal of Brahmacharya. Gandhiji said in all truth in his 'My Experiments' how when he looked back to the past, he saw very clearly that everything he had been able to achieve as a servant of India and humanity centered round that decision to observe Brahmacharya which he took up late in life. Subhas you shall be a Brahmachari all throughout your life because of the great work you have to accomplish in your country. I said to myself. For that divine ideal viz to serve my country to the best of my ability I then decided to stick firm to the vow of Brahmacharya and thus canalise and sublimate all my energy and life to the contemplation and realisation of that great ideal which then lay before my mind.

But destiny plays strange pranks with one's life. In 1935 when Subhas was undergoing treatment in a clinic in Vienna he decided to use his spare time for completing the survey of the movement for Indian Independence from 1920 onwards, which he later published under the title 'The Indian Struggle'. In connection with this work he wanted a competent stenographer and secretary and an Austrian lady Frau Emilie Schenkel offered her services. She threw herself into the work with such zeal, devotion and thoroughness that Subhas was relieved of a great deal of anxiety on account of the work. Many of the documents, records and papers that he had were all in a mess. She put them all in order so that it became comparatively easy for Subhas to get at the material and go ahead with the actual writing.

When Subhas reached Berlin in 1941 and was busy preparing to set up an Indian Embassy in Germany he wanted someone knowing English, French and German. Naturally he thought of Miss Schenkel and she joined the Indian Embassy as Secretary. Her devotion to duty and love for India impressed Subhas so much that in the beginning of 1942 he proposed and got married to her at a quiet ceremony in Vienna. It was a Gandharva Vivaha because they could not be married under the then existing German marriage law. The marriage took place at the residence of Miss Schenkel and an Indian friend and a Viennese gentleman were the only other persons present.

Subhas was of a romantic temperament and marriage in his case was a matter of romanticism rather than carnal passion. He loved nature, beauty, colour, joy and happiness wherever found. In fact he loved the entire creation of God and it is obvious that he found it

Miss Schenkel all that satisfied his soul. But the call of duty was always foremost in his mind. Towards the end of 1942, duty demanded that he should go to South East Asia and so he left behind his wife to whom he was married less than a year before, and a daughter just 27 days old, on a perilous journey.

It was the story of Gautama Buddha and Mahavir repeated. The search for Truth and its realisation compelled Buddha to abandon his wife and child and the comforts of a palace life, and to go through the pain and sufferings of penance, tapasya and fasting. The call of the freedom of India compelled Subhas to abandon his wife and child, and comparative safety in Germany to enter upon a hazardous journey in a submarine which carried him from the Baltic Sea to Singapore. He was in the submarine for four months, and the perils of the journey can be easily imagined. He was a great lover, but a greater patriot. In his last letter to his elder brother, Shri Sarat Chandra Bose, he refers to the marriage. The following is a translation of the letter.

“Revered Mejdada (second eldest brother),

Today I am again leaving on a perilous mission. But this time homeward bound. Possibly, I shall not see the end of it. If I meet a catastrophe in course of it, then there will be no more news from my end. That is why today I am leaving this message here—this will reach you in good time. I have married here and have become father of a daughter. When I shall be no more, please offer a little of your affection to my wife and daughter—as you have shown me all along. I pray to God, ‘May my wife and daughter complete my unfinished work—crown it with success and perfection.’ This is my last prayer to him.

Please accept my respectful pranams and convey them to mother, Mejboudi (sister-in-law, referring to the wife of Shri Sarat Chandra Bose) and other elders.

Berlin, February 8, 1943

Your affectionate brother

SUBHAS”

How quietly and without perturbation he refers to the possibility of his meeting with death. “If I meet a catastrophe then there shall be no more news from my end”—nobody could have put that in fewer words and with lesser emotion. His love for India was so great that dying for its freedom he took for granted as something natural.

After the war was over I learnt from Berlin I N A friends about Subhas Babu's marriage and wanted to inquire personally about the same. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel also wanted to know whether it was true, and if true to inquire for his wife's wishes regarding her future plans. According to Sardar's orders while I was in Antwerp in 1947,

I secured a visa for going to Vienna. I informed Mrs Emilie Schenkel that I was going to Vienna, reaching there via France at 3 a.m. the next day. She came to the station and announced on the loud speaker that "Mrs. Schenkel is waiting for Mr Parikh at the gate." She was so happy to see an Indian and a personal friend of Netaji coming all the way from India. She said that I was the first Indian to meet her and to bring her a message from the Congress. I was so much impressed by the simplicity of Emilie that I bowed to her in all reverence. After we reached the residence of Mrs Emilie Schenkel I had the pleasure of meeting the mother-in-law of Subhas Bahu. We wished each other and then she served us coffee. Mrs Emilie Schenkel showed me Subhas's letters and other papers which abundantly proved the truth regarding the marriage. Emilie told me how Subhas was respected in diplomatic circles in Berlin. Subhas Babu's daughter Anita was still asleep but in about half an hour she got up and rushed in to the drawing room where we were sitting. She said to me "Good morning uncle I am sorry I was sleeping. How are you?" I was delighted to see Anita took her in my arms and kissed her. What a wonderful likeness she has of Subhas?

Her eyes and the way she spoke resembled those of Subhas. She brought to me a photograph of Netaji with small Indian tri-colour flags on both sides of the frame. Anita had kept the photograph near her bed in such a way that she would say her prayers looking at Subhas before going to bed and again when she got up in the morning. For her age five at that time she was completely conscious of what had happened to her Daddy. She was highly intelligent for her age and so affectionate and charming. I saw her again in 1918 in Brussels at the residence of Mr and Mrs Duttily, a socialist couple who were looking after her being brought by the Red Cross with about a hundred other children from the area of want to the area of plenty. It is really a fine system adopted by the Red Cross to help the poor and the middle class children to get holidays and change. She had picked up French wonderfully apart from English and German. Mr Duttily, a journalist by profession, was serving in a local paper in Brussels and was extremely happy looking after the child of Subhas Chandra Bose, a great Indian leader.

I stayed for three days at the residence of Mrs Schenkel. The family had passed those days of troubles and hardships with courage. All this suffering did not matter much because the thought that Subhas would return one day had kept up their spirit. Even when the hopes of Subhas's return had vanished Mrs Emilie still remained high serving the mother and daughter under these new happy remembrances. It was such a great joy for me to meet them again in Ghon (Switzerland) for a few hours with the late Mrs Subhas Chandra Bose in 1949.

When I left Vienna for Brussels, I wrote to Sardar Patel of all that I had seen. I wrote that everything appeared to me so natural that I had not to search for the truth of the marriage'. All that was destined had happened and that left Subhas, a great lover, a greater patriot, and a real 'thygi'. I requested Sardar Patel to place my letter before Bapu if he considered fit. On reaching home I met Sardar Patel and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at Delhi in November 1947 and showed to them all the photographs etc. that I had brought from Vienna.

Subhas was a transcendent personality. He was towering physically, like his guru Swami Vivekananda, tall, well-built, superb, magnetic. He could stand out in a million. As he entered the Congress pandal or any mass meeting, all eyes turn towards him. His eyes were sparkling stars, his forehead was that of a great thinker, his jaws were those of a determined fighter. Intellectually, he was a giant among men. He despised everything narrow, selfish, unclean. His vision extended far beyond the boundaries of India, for he loved the human race, and his fight for the freedom of India was only a part of the struggle for the freedom of humanity. Morally, modern India, has yet to produce his superior. He had unbounded courage, will-power, and tenacity. From the time he landed in India in 1921 after resigning from the I.C.S., he had no rest, no peace. Eleven times he went to jail, for long periods he used to be ill, but nothing daunted him, and all the time he was not only fighting the British, but also those of his own countrymen who sought the path of safety. For all this long and terrible suffering, trials and tribulations the only reward he got in this world was the presidentship of the Haripura Congress. But he sought neither reward nor recognition. He lived and died so that India may be great.



# SPEECHES

*Out of the abundance of the heart  
the mouth speaketh.*  
—*Mathew XII 34.*



Netaji in I N A Officer's uniform

—Courtesy Mr. N. D. Tandon

# CONSTRUCTIVE REVOLUTION

*Netaji presented the broad outlines of a plan for a constructive revolution for the first time in the following speech at the Maharashtra Political Conference held at Poona in May 1928. He made it clear then that he stood for a Sovereign Democratic Republic. He later opposed the resolution on Dominion Status sponsored at the Calcutta Congress held in December 1928, and declared "We stand for independence not in the distant future but as our immediate objective"*

**I**T is sometimes urged by foreigners that the new awakening in India is entirely an exotic product inspired by alien ideals and methods. This is by no means true. I do not for one moment dispute that the impact of the West has helped to rouse us from our intellectual and moral torpor. That impact has restored self-consciousness to our people, but the movement that has resulted therefrom is a genuine swadeshi movement. India has long passed through the traditional period of blind imitation—of reflex action, if you put it in psychological language. She has recovered her soul and is now busy reconstructing her national ideals.

I agree that civilization, like individuals, grow and die in a cyclic fashion, and that each civilization has a certain span of life vouchsafed to it. I also agree that under certain conditions, it is possible for a particular civilization to be reborn after it has spent itself. When this rebirth is to take place the vital impetus—the "elan vital"—comes not from without but within. In this manner has Indian civilization been reborn over and over again at the end of each cycle, and that is why India, in spite of her hoary antiquity, is still young and fresh.

The charge has often been levelled against us that since democracy is no accidental institution, India by accepting democratic or semi-democratic institutions is being westernised. Some European writers go so far as to say that democracy is unsuited to the oriental temperament, and political advancement in India should not, therefore, be made in that direction. Ignorance and effrontery could not go further. Democracy is by no means a Western institution, it is a human institution. Wherever man has attempted to evolve political institutions, he has hit upon this wonderful institution—democracy. The past history of India is replete with democratic institutions.



I think it is necessary at this stage to warn my countrymen and my young friends in particular, about the attack that is being made on nationalism from more than one quarter

From the point of view of cultural internationalism nationalism is sometimes assailed as narrow selfish and aggressive. It is also regarded as a hindrance to the promotion of internationalism in the domain of culture. My reply to the charge is that Indian nationalism is neither narrow nor selfish nor aggressive. It is inspired by the highest ideal of the human race viz. Satyam, (the truth) Shivam (the good) Sunderam (the beautiful). Nationalism in India has instilled into us truthfulness honesty manliness and the spirit of service and sacrifice. What is more, it has roused the creative faculties which for centuries had been lying dormant in our people and as a result we are experiencing a renaissance in the domain of Indian art.

Mass consciousness has been roused in India — thanks to the extensive and intensive propaganda undertaken during the non-cooperation movement, and the mass movement cannot possibly be checked now. The only question is along what lines this mass consciousness should manifest itself? If the Congress neglects the masses it is inevitable that sectional—and if I may say so anti-national—movements will come into existence and class war appear even before we have achieved our political emancipation. It would be disastrous in the highest degree if we were to launch class war while we are all bed fellows in slavery in order that we may afford amusement to the common enemy.

On the question of our national goal I stand for an Independent Federal Republic. India cannot be content with colonial Self Government or Dominion Home Rule. Why must we remain within the British Empire? India is rich in resources human and material. She has outgrown the infancy which foreigners have been thrusting upon her and can not only take care of herself but can function as an independent unit.

The usual argument that India without the help of Britain cannot defend herself is puerile. It is the Indian army—much more than the British army—which is defending India to-day. If India is strong enough to fight the battles of England outside our borders as in Tibet, China, Mesopotamia, Persia, Egypt and France—she is certainly strong enough to defend herself from foreign aggression. Moreover once India is able to free herself the balance of power in the world will save India as it has saved China.

While striving to attain liberty we have to note all its implications. You cannot introduce light into a room and expect at the same time some portion of it to remain dark. You cannot establish political democracy and endeavour at the same time to treat the demagogues of the society. No my friends let us not become queer mixtures of political democrats and social conservatives. Political institutions grow

## CONSTRUCTIVE REVOLUTION

out of the social life of the people and are shaped by their social ideas and ideals. If we want to make India really great we must build up a political democracy on the pedestal of a democratic society. Privileges based on birth, caste or creed should go and equal opportunities should be thrown open to all irrespective of caste, creed or religion. The status of woman should also be raised and woman should also be trained to take larger and a more intelligent interest in public affairs.

Regarding our communal problem while I do not condemn any patch-up work that may be necessary I would urge the necessity of discovering a deeper remedy. It is necessary for the different religious groups to be acquainted with the traditions, ideals and history of one another. Cultural intimacy will then pave the way to communal harmony. The fundamental basis of political unity between different communities lies in cultural rapprochement, and as things stand to-day the different communities inhabiting India are too exclusive.

In order to facilitate cultural rapprochement a dose of secular and scientific training is necessary. Fanaticism is the greatest thorn in the path of cultural intimacy, and there is no better remedy for fanaticism than secular and scientific education. This sort of education is useful for another reason. It helps to rouse our "economic" consciousness. The dawn of "economic" consciousness spells the death of fanaticism. There is much more in common between a Hindu peasant and a Muslim peasant than between a Muslim peasant and a Muslim zamindar. The masses have only got to be educated wherein their economic interests lie, and once they understand that, they will no longer consent to be pawns in communal feuds. By working from the cultural, educational and economic side, we can gradually undermine fanaticism and thereby render possible the growth of healthy nationalism in this country.

One of the most hopeful signs of the time is the awakening among youth of this country. The movement has spread from one end of the country to the other, and has attracted not only young men but young women as well. The youth has become self-conscious, it has been inspired by an ideal and is anxious to follow the call of its inner nature and fulfil its destiny.

The movement is the spontaneous self-expression of the national soul and on the course of this movement depends the nation's future weal. Our duty, therefore, is not to attempt to crush this new-born spirit but to lend it our support and guidance.

I would implore you to assist in the awakening of youth and in the organisation of the youth movement. Self-conscious youth will not only dream, but will also act, will not only destroy, but will also build. It will succeed where even you may fail, it will create a new India—and a free India—out of the failures, trials and experience of the past. And, if we are to rid India once for all of all the canker of communalism and fanaticism, we have to begin work among our youth.

There is another aspect of our movement which has been somewhat neglected in this country viz., the women's movement. It is impossible for one-half of the nation to win liberty without the active sympathy and support of the other half. There are various non political organisations among our women but I venture to think that there is room for a country wide political organisation among them. It should be the primary object of these organisations which will be run by women alone to carry on political propaganda among their sex and to help the work of the Indian National Congress.

Our benign rulers and our self appointed advisers are in the habit of lecturing day after day on our unfitness for Swaraj. Some say that we must have more education before we can hope to be free others maintain that social reform should precede political reform still others urge that without industrial development India cannot be fit for Swaraj. None of these statements is true. Indeed it would be far more true to say that without political freedom—i.e. without the power to shape our own destiny—we cannot have either compulsory free education or social reform or industrial advancement.

If you demand education for your people as Gokhale did long ago the plea is put forward by Government that there is no money. If you introduce social legislation you find Miss Mayo's cousins on this side of the Atlantic arrayed against you and on the side of social die-hards. When you are working yourself to death to bring about the economic and industrial regeneration of India you find to your infinite regret that your Imperial Banks, your railways and your Stores Departments are least inclined to help your national enterprise. I have no doubt that Swaraj and Swaraj alone is the sovereign remedy for all our ills. And the only criterion of our fitness for Swaraj is the will to be free.

How to rouse the national will within the shortest possible period is then the problem before us and our policies and programmes have to be drawn up to this end. The bureaucracy has entrenched itself in this country by erecting a network of organisations and institutions and by appointing a hierarchy of officials to run them. These institutions are the seats of bureaucratic power and through them the bureaucracy has a grip on the very heart of the people. We have to storm these citadels of power and for that purpose we have to set up parallel institutions. These parallel organisations are our Congress offices. The Congress offices are the forts where we have to entrench ourselves and whence we have to stir out every day in order to raid the bureaucratic citadels. Congress Committees are our army and no plan of campaign however skilfully devised can succeed unless we have a strong efficient and disciplined army at our command.

Our immediate task is among other things to make the body of the Simon Commission complete and effective. We take no action

the sacred and inviolable rights of men—and the principle of self-determination We maintain that it is for India to frame her own constitution according to her needs and it is for the British to accept it *in toto* The Secretary of State for India has in a fit of pompous pride challenged India to produce an agreed constitution If there is a spark of honour and self-respect left in us, we should take up the gauntlet and give a fitting reply by producing a constitution

I shall not tire you with any details of the constitution that should be drafted I shall leave that task to our constitution framers and shall content myself with referring to three cardinal points These three points are as follows —

1 The constitution should guarantee national sovereignty i.e., the sovereignty of the people What we want is Government of the people

2 The constitution should be prefaced by a Declaration of Rights which will guarantee us elementary rights of citizenship Without a Declaration of Rights, a constitution is not worth the paper it is written on Repressive laws, and ordinances should be unknown in a free India

3 There should be a system of joint electorate As a temporary arrangement, there may be reservation of seats if found necessary But we should by all means insist on a joint electorate Nationalism and separate electorates are self-contradictory Separate electorates are wrong in principle, and it is futile to attempt to build up a nation on a bad principle

In order to enforce our national demand, it is necessary to take such steps as lie in our power — because mere appeal to the sweet reasonableness of Britishers will be of no avail Weak and unarmed though we are, Providence has in His mercy given us a weapon which we can use with great effect This weapon is economic boycott, i.e., boycott of British goods

It is also necessary that while the political fight is going on some of us should take up the work of village reorganisation In a vast country like ours—with so many departments in our national life there is room for variety of talent and scope for diversity of temperament

Friends! We have reached a most critical stage in our nation's history and it behoves us to unite all our force and make a bold stand against the powers that be Let us all stand shoulder to shoulder and say with one heart and with one voice, that our motto is as Tennyson said through Ulleyses—"To strive, to seek, to find and not to yield"

## PHILOSOPHY OF ACTION

*Subhas was always the ideal of the youth of India. He felt at home at Youth rallies and conferences. He was known for his forthrightness and in the speech given below delivered at the All India Youth Conference in Calcutta on Christmas day 1928 he calls upon India's youth to pursue the philosophy of detachment as against isolation and other worldliness.*

**I**F we take a bird's-eye view of the march of world events there is one outstanding phenomenon which greets us in every land and that is the renaissance of youth. From north to south from east to west wherever we may happen to glance the Youth Movement has become a reality. It is necessary for us to be clear in our own minds what the characteristics of the Youth Movement are what are its main springs and its ultimate objectives.

Any association of young men or women does not deserve the designation of youth association. A social service league or a famine relief society is not necessarily a youth association. A youth association is characterised by a feeling of dissatisfaction with present order of things the desire for a better order accompanied by a vision of that order. Youth movements are not reformist in outlook but revolutionary. A feeling of restlessness—of impatience with the present order—must come into existence before any Youth Movement can start. Personally I do not consider the Youth Movement of to-day to be a twentieth century phenomenon or an accidental phenomenon. This is true of every age of every clime. From the time of Socrates and Buddha men have been inspired by vision of a better world and under that inspiration have endeavoured to reconstruct society. The Youth Movements of the modern age are characterised by a similar vision and a similar effort. Wherever the older generation of leaders have failed youth has taken upon itself the responsibility of reconstructing society and of guiding it on towards a nobler state of existence.

Even in this land of intruders the awakening has come. I firmly believe that it is an awakening from within and not merely a ferment on the surface. The youths of India are a better content will be a

over all responsibility to their elders and sitting down with folded hands or following like dumb-driven cattle. They have realised that it is for them to create a new India, free, great and powerful. They have accepted the responsibility, they have prepared themselves for the consequences and they are now busy schooling themselves for the great task that awaits them.

As I look round me to-day, I am struck by two movements or two schools of thought about which it is my duty to speak out openly and fearlessly. I am referring to the two schools of thought which have their respective centres at Sabarmati and Pondicherry. I am not considering the fundamental philosophy underlying those two schools of thought. This is not the time for metaphysical speculation. I shall talk to you to-day as a pragmatist, as one who will judge the intrinsic value of a school of thought not from a metaphysical point of view, but from the experience of its actual effects and consequences.

The actual effect of the propaganda carried on by the Sabarmati school of thought is to create the impression that modernism is bad, large-scale production is an evil, that wants should not be increased, and standard of living should not be raised, that we must endeavour to go back to the days of the bullock cart, and that the soul is so important that physical culture and military training can well be ignored.

The actual effect of the propaganda carried on by the Pondicherry school of thought is to create the impression that there is nothing higher or nobler than peaceful contemplation, that Yoga means Pranayama and Dhyana, that while action may be tolerated as good, this particular brand of Yoga is something higher and better. This propaganda has led many a man to forget that spiritual progress under the present-day conditions is possible only by ceaseless and unselfish action, that the best way to conquer nature is to fight her, and it is weakness to seek refuge in contemplation when we are hemmed in on all sides by dangers and difficulties.

It is the passivism, not philosophic but actual, inculcated by these schools of thought against which I protest. In this holy land of ours, Ashrams are not new institutions and ascetics and Yogis are not novel phenomena. They have held and they will continue to hold an honoured place in society. But it is not their lead that we shall have to follow if we are to create a new India, at once free, happy and great.

Friends, you will pardon me if in a fit of outspokenness I have trod on your sentiments. As I have just said, I do not for one moment consider the fundamental philosophy underlying the two schools of thought but its actual consequences from a pragmatic point of view. In India we want to-day a philosophy of activism. We must be inspired by robust optimism. We have to live in the present and to adapt

ourselves to modern conditions. We can no longer live in an isolated corner of the world. When India is free she will have to fight her modern enemies with modern methods, both in the economic and in the political spheres. The days of the bullock cart are gone and gone for ever. Free India must prepare herself for any eventuality as long as the whole world does not accept wholeheartedly the policy of disarmament.

I am not one of those who in their zeal for modernism forget the glories of the past. We must take our stand on our past. India has a culture of her own which she must continue to develop along her own distinctive channels. In philosophy literature art science we have something new to give to the world which the world eagerly awaits. In a word we must arrive at synthesis. Some of our best thinkers and workers are already engaged in this important task. We must resist the cry of 'Back to the Vedas' on the one side and on the other the meaningless craze for fashion and change of modern Europe.

## CLARION CALL TO INDIAN YOUTH

*'False standards, hide-bound customs and age-long restrictions must be pulled down and a new order must gradually come into existence' So said Subhas Bose in his presidential speech at the first Central Provinces Youth Conference held at Nagpur on 25th November 1929. The speech constitutes a clarion call to the youth of the country to break down every barrier, social, political, economic and religious, which hampers freedom in the fullest sense of the word*

**T**HERE are people in this country, and some of them eminent in public life, who look upon the Youth Movement of to-day with some degree of disfavour. There are other people, who do not realise the inner meaning of the Youth Movement, but have joined it probably out of a feeling that a movement should not be allowed to grow in which they do not play some part. From the dawn of the present renaissance in India up till to-day, several movements and thought-currents have appeared one after another. That in addition to these movements another should come into existence in the shape of the Youth Movement, is in itself a sufficient proof that such phenomenon was called for. There is certainly some fundamental craving in the soul of the individual and of the nation to satisfy which the Youth Movement had come into existence to be carried. What is that fundamental craving? It is the desire for freedom and self-fulfilment.

The country needs to-day a movement which will vouchsafe to the individual and to the nation complete emancipation from bondage of every kind as well as the fullest power of self-fulfilment and self-expression. The Youth Movement is an emblem of our dissatisfaction with the present order of things. It stands for the revolt of Youth against age-long bondage, tyranny and oppression. It seeks to create a new and better world for ourselves and for humanity by removing all shackles and giving the fullest scope to the creative activity of mankind. It is a genuine independence movement, the mainsprings of which lie deeply embedded in human nature.

This movement has come into existence because it fulfils, or strives to fulfil, a crying need of the time and the cravings of the human soul.



If one does not realise the inner meanings and purpose of a movement, he can do nothing by merely joining it or by capturing youth associations. To my mind any association of young men and young women cannot deserve the name of youth association unless it has all the characteristics of youth. As I have already hinted all youth movements are characterised by a feeling of restlessness and of dissatisfaction with the existing state of things and they seek to usher in a better order. They stand for freedom from bondage and for revolt against custom and authority where custom and authority militate against the promptings of human conscience. Their motto is self-confidence and self reliance—as against blind homage and unquestioning obedience to our elders.

The purpose of the Youth Movement is to re-create our whole life and to breathe into it the inspiration of a new ideal. It is this ideal which will give a new meaning to life. That ideal is full, all round freedom and complete self fulfilment. Freedom and self fulfilment are intimately and inseparably connected. Without freedom self fulfilment is not possible and freedom has value because it leads to self fulfilment.

The Youth Movement is in its scope co-extensive with life itself. It therefore follows that the Youth Movement will have as many departments as there are aspects in our life. If we are to rejuvenate the body we shall need sports, athletics and gymnastics. If we are to emancipate and re-educate the mind we shall need a new literature, a higher and better type of education and a healthy conception of morality. If we are to rejuvenate society we shall have to do away ruthlessly with hide-bound ideals and customs and substitute new and healthy ones instead. Further we shall have to revalue the existing social and moral values in the light of the ideal of the age and in all probability we shall have to introduce a new scale of values which will govern the society of the future.

In striking out a new line of thought and action it is but natural that we should run up against existing ideas and vested interests and against the powers that be. But we should not be afraid of that. The progress of the Youth Movement will have to be effected in the teeth of opposition and in the face of numerous obstacles. Occasions will arise when we shall be hemmed in from all sides and it will appear as if we stand by ourselves cut off from the rest of the world. In such crisis we should remember the pregnant words of that great Irish patriot who in the face of imminent danger cried out triumphantly—“One man can save Ireland just as one man redeemed the World”. As an exponent of the Youth Movement the moment you apply the principles of freedom to every walk of life you at once create enemies on all sides and all the vested interests affected by your propaganda may combine for the purpose of crushing you. It is easy to fight even a formidable enemy on one front but it is difficult to fight your enemies on every front.

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could, simultaneously. The rank and file of the Youth Movement shy from whom therefore, be prepared to face enemies more formidable than those with whom the political workers may have to encounter.

There is another difficulty which we in the Youth Movement should anticipate, and against which we should be forewarned. In a political movement or in a labour movement you will have to handle large crowds in order to preserve your control over them. You may have to descend to the gallery on certain occasions. You may also have to bring yourself down to the level of the masses on certain occasions in order to stir up your communion with them. In the Youth Movement, on the other hand, you will have to say goodbye to love of popularity—if you have the to possess that feeling. On occasions you will have to take a share of responsibility of creating public opinion or of stemming the tide of popular feeling. If you wish to solve the fundamental problems of modern national life, you will have to look miles ahead of your contemporaries. The mass mind is often unable to cut itself off from present day mood, and visualize the future. It is not improbable that the mass mind will just refuse to accept your prescription. On such an occasion you must summon courage to stand out alone and unfriended, in the presence of the cross as it were, and fight the rest of the world. One who desires to swim with the tide of popular approbation on all occasions may become the hero of the hour — but he cannot live in history, therefore, be prepared for any amount of misunderstanding and for any degree of persecution. For the most unselfish actions we should be prepared to get abuse and vilification, from our closest friends we should be prepared for unwarranted hostility.

But human nature is at bottom divine. The day of misunderstanding, abuse and persecution, however long it may be, will, therefore, have its end. Even if we have to meet death for the sake of our sincere convictions, we shall through death attain immortality. Let us therefore, be ready for any emergency. The rose is thrice beautiful because of its thorns and so is human life. Would not life be stale and insipid without sacrifice, suffering and persecution?

Broadly speaking the Youth Movement has five aspects viz., political, social, economic, physical and cultural. The aim of the movement is a two-fold one — to break the five-fold bondage of the past, and as a result of this emancipation to give an impetus to self-fulfilment and self-expression. The movement is, therefore, both destructive and creative in character. Without destruction you cannot have creation. That is why everywhere in nature we find destruction and creation going on side by side. If you think that destruction is bad and construction is possible without destruction, we shall be sadly mistaken. So also should we be if we regard destruction to be an end in itself. The growth and expansion of the freedom movement in any sphere of life means

destruction and sometimes ruthless destruction. There can be no compromise with untruth hypocrisy bondage and inequality. We shall have to strike and strike hard if we have to break these shackles and we should not falter or look back when our only duty is to march ahead.

If there is life within us—if we are not mere clods of clay untroubled by a spark — destruction will unfailingly be accompanied by creative activity. Many of the movements that we witness to-day in India and abroad are reformist in character. The movements touch the fringe of our life without radically transforming it. But we want no reform—but radical transformation. The whole of our life—both individual and collective—has to be recreated. In order to fulfil this rejuvenation, we want a new conception of freedom to inspire us. Freedom has had a varying connotation in different ages and in different climes. In fact in our own country as elsewhere there has been an evolution of the conception of freedom. Today freedom has come to mean complete all round emancipation. At least that is the interpretation which appeals to the youths. We can no longer be content with a half way house. We want the fullest dose of freedom and we want it in every sphere of life. If we love freedom and love it for its own sake we cannot possibly tolerate bondage or inequality of any sort. Whether in the political or in the economic, or in the social sphere—we must be prepared for a full application of the principle of freedom. Every human being—man or woman—is born equal and he or she shall have equal opportunities of development. That should be our dictum. This is a principle which is easy to utter but difficult to act upon in view of the enormous difficulties we shall have to encounter in giving effect to it.

Our ideal is an exceedingly ambitious one—probably the most ambitious one that one can conceive. We want to transform our whole life and to create a new world and better world for ourselves and for humanity. In order to achieve this we must rouse all the best that is in us. It is the magic touch of freedom which alone can awaken our dormant faculties and galvanise us into ceaseless activity. How can we rouse this desire for freedom in ourselves firstly and then in our countrymen? This is our first and foremost problem. We must feel the stings of slavery the pangs of bondage—if we are to cry out for freedom from the bottom of our heart. When this feeling becomes acute we shall realise that life without freedom is not worth living and as this experience grows a time will come when our whole soul will be consumed with the longing for liberty.

It is at this stage that we can become missionaries of a preaching the gospel of freedom. As freedom interested men and women we should then go from door to door from village to village and from city to city to preach the cult of freedom. Every walk of life will feel the breath of life as a result of this propaganda. (Speech in a meeting at Calcutta, 1921)

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will begin. The body politic, the economic order and the social order will be stirred by a new impulse and a new ideal—namely the ideal of freedom and equality. False standards, hide-bound customs and age-long restrictions must be pulled down, and a new order must gradually come into existence. If we succeed in bringing into existence this new order, based on liberty, equality and fraternity, we shall solve not merely a national problem, but also a world problem.

India is an epitome of the world. India's problems are world-problems in miniature. The solution of India's problems is, therefore, a solution of world problems. India lives to-day in spite of untold suffering and misery and in spite of numerous invasions—because she has a mission to fulfil. India has to save herself because by saving herself she will save the world. India has to attain freedom because a free India will be able to make suitable contribution to the culture and civilization of the world. The world is anxiously awaiting India's gift. Without that, the world will be all the poorer.

## THE FIGHT AHEAD

*Netaji's services to the nation won the highest recognition when in 1935 he was elected President of the Congress. Nearly eight years had elapsed since the mass struggle was called off. Congress ministries had come into power in eight provinces and their performance had further strengthened the faith of the people in the Congress. In the international field war-clouds were gathering over Europe. The world was watching with anxiety the desperate efforts of the Spanish people to defeat fascism. In his presidential address Netaji exhorted Congressmen to close up their ranks to prepare for the struggle ahead.*

**W**HEN we take a bird's-eye view of the entire panorama of human history the first thing that strikes us is the rise and fall of empires. In the East as well as in the West, empires have invariably gone through a process of expansion and after reaching the zenith of prosperity have gradually shrunk into insignificance and sometimes death. The British Empire is a hybrid phenomenon in politics. It is a peculiar combination of self governing countries, partially self governing dependencies and autocratically governed colonies. Constitutional device and human ingenuity may bolster up this combination for a while but not for ever. If the internal incongruities are not removed in good time then quite apart from external pressure the empire is sure to break down under its own strain. But can the British Empire transform itself into a federation of free nations with one bold sweep? It is for the British people to answer this question.

It is a well known truism that every empire is based on the policy of divide and rule. But I doubt if any empire in the world has practised this policy so skillfully, systematically and ruthlessly as Great Britain. In accordance with this policy before power was handed over to the Irish people Ulster was separated from the rest of Ireland. Similarly before any power is handed over to the Palestinians the Jews will be separated from the Arabs. An internal partition seems to be in order to neutralise the transference of power. The same principle of partition appears in a different form in the new Indian Constitution.

The policy of divide and rule though it has been used as a device is by no means an unmixcd blessing for the throned power. As a rule it

of fact, it creates new problems and new embarrassments. Great Britain seems to be caught in the meshes of her own political dualism resulting from her policy of divide and rule. Will she please the Muslim or the Hindu in India? Will she favour the Arab or the Jew in Palestine—the Arab or the Kurd in Iraq? Will she side with the King or the Wafd in Egypt? The same dualism is visible outside the Empire. The contradictions and inconsistencies in British foreign policy are the direct outcome of the heterogeneous composition of her Empire.

The only means whereby Great Britain can free herself from such contradictions and inconsistencies, is by transforming the Empire into a federation of free nations. If she could do that, she would be performing a miracle in history. But if she fails, she must reconcile herself to the gradual dismemberment of a vast empire where the sun is supposed not to set. Let the lesson of the Austro-Hungarian Empire be not lost on the British people.

Ours is a vast country with a population of 350 millions. Our vastness in area and in population can be a source of strength if we can only stand united and boldly face our rulers. From the standpoint of Indian unity the first thing to remember is that the division between British India and the Indian States is an entirely artificial one. India is one and the hopes and aspirations of the people of British India and of the Indian States are identical. Our goal is that of an Independent India and in my view that goal can be attained only through a Federal Republic in which the States will be willing partners. The Congress has, time and again, offered its sympathy and moral support to the movement carried on by the state subjects for the establishment of democratic Government in what is known as Indian India. It may be that at this moment our hands are so full that the Congress is not in a position to do more for our compatriots in the States. But even to-day there is nothing to prevent individual Congressmen from actively espousing the cause of the States' subjects and participating in their struggle. There are people in the Congress like myself who would like to see the Congress participating more actively in the movement of the States' subjects. I personally hope that in the near future it will be possible for the Indian National Congress to take a forward step and offer a helping hand to our fellow fighters in the States.

Talking of Indian unity, the next thing that strikes us is the problem of the minorities. The Congress has, from time to time, declared its policy on this question. The time is opportune for renewing our efforts for the final solution of this problem. I believe I am voicing the feelings of all Congressmen when I say that we are eager to do our very best to arrive at an agreed solution consistent with the fundamental principles of nationalism. Only by emphasising our common interests, economic and political, can we cut across communal divisions and dissensions.

A policy of *live and let live* in matters religious and an understanding in matters economic and political should be our objective. Though the Muslim problem looms large whenever we think of the question of the minorities and though we are anxious to settle this problem finally, I must say that the Congress is equally desirous of doing justice to other minorities and especially the *so-called Depressed Classes* whose number is a large one. I should put it to the members of the minority communities in India to consider dispassionately if they have anything to fear when the Congress programme is put into operation. The Congress stands for the political and economic rights of the Indian people as a whole. If it succeeds in executing its programme the minority communities would be benefited as much as any other section of the Indian population. Moreover if after the capture of political power national reconstruction takes place on *socialistic lines*—as I have no doubt it will—it is the have-nots who will benefit at the expense of the haves and the Indian masses have to be classified among the have-nots. There remains but one question which may be a source of anxiety to the minorities viz., religion and that aspect of culture that is based on religion. On this question the Congress policy is one of complete non-interference in matters of conscience, religion and culture as well as of cultural autonomy for the different linguistic areas. The Muslims have therefore nothing to fear in the event of India winning her freedom—on the contrary they have everything to gain. So far as the religious and social disabilities of the *so-called Depressed Classes* are concerned it is well known that during the last 17 years the Congress has left no stone unturned in the effort to remove them and I have no doubt that the day is not far off when such disabilities will be things of the past.

I shall now proceed to consider the method which the Congress should pursue in the years to come as well as its role in the national struggle. I believe more than ever that the method should be *Satyagraha* or non-violent non-co-operation in the widest sense of the term including civil disobedience. It would not be correct to call our method passive resistance. *Satyagraha* as I understand it, is not merely passive resistance but active resistance as well though that activity must be of a non-violent character. It is necessary to remind our countrymen that *Satyagraha* or non-violent non-co-operation may have to be resorted to again. The acceptance of office in the provinces as an experimental measure should not lead us to think that our future activity is to be confined within the limits of strict constitutionalism. There is every possibility that a determined opposition to the forced inauguration of federation may land us in another big campaign of civil disobedience.

In our struggle for independence we may adopt either of the two alternatives. We may continue our fight until we have a full free country and in the meantime decline to use any power that we may acquire on the march. We may on the other hand enter the political arena

position while we continue our struggle for Purna Swaraj or complete independence. From the point of view of principle, both the alternatives are equally acceptable and *a priori* considerations need not worry us. But we should consider very carefully at every stage as to which alternative would be more conducive to our national advancement. In either case, the ultimate stage in our progress will be the severance of the British connection. When that severance takes place and there is no trace left of British domination we shall be in a position to determine our future relation with Great Britain through a treaty of alliance voluntarily entered into by both parties. What our future relations with Great Britain will or should be, it is too early to say. That will depend to a large extent on the attitude of the British people themselves. On this point I have been greatly impressed by the attitude of President de Valera. Like the President of Eire, I should also say that we have no enmity towards the British people. We are fighting Great Britain and we want the fullest liberty to determine our future relations with her. But once we have real self-determination, there is no reason why we should not enter into the most cordial relations with the British people.

There are friends who think that after freedom is won, the Congress Party having achieved its objective, should wither away. Such a conception is entirely erroneous. The party that wins freedom for India should be also the party that will put into effect the entire programme of post-war reconstruction. Only those who have won power can handle it properly. If other people are pitchforked into seats of power which they were not responsible for capturing, they will lack that strength, confidence and idealism which is indispensable for revolutionary reconstruction. It is this which accounts for the difference in the record of the Congress and non-Congress Ministries in the very narrow sphere of Provincial Autonomy.

No, there can be no question of the Congress Party withering away after political freedom has been won. On the contrary, the party will have to take over power, assume responsibility for administration and put through its programme of reconstruction. Only then will it fulfil its role. If it were forced to liquidate itself, chaos would follow. Looking at post-war Europe, we find that only in those countries has there been orderly and continuous progress where the party which seized power undertook the work of reconstruction. I know that it will be argued that the continuance of a party in such circumstances, standing behind the State, will convert that state into a totalitarian one, but I cannot admit the charge. The state will possibly become a totalitarian one, if there be only one party as in countries like Russia, Germany and Italy. But there is no reason why other parties should be banned. Moreover the party itself will have a democratic basis, unlike, for instance, the Nazi Party which is based on the "leader principle". The existence of more than one party and the democratic basis of the



Congress Party will prevent the future Indian State becoming a totalitarian one. Further the democratic basis of the party will ensure that leaders are not thrust upon the people from above but are elected from below

Though it may be somewhat premature to give a detailed plan of reconstruction, we might as well consider some of the principles according to which our future social reconstruction should take place. I have no doubt in my mind that our chief national problems relating to the eradication of poverty, illiteracy and disease and to scientific production and distribution can be effectively tackled only along socialistic lines. The very first thing which our future national government will have to do would be to set up a commission for drawing up a comprehensive plan of reconstruction. This plan will have two parts—an immediate programme and a long period programme. In drawing up the first part, the immediate objectives which will have to be kept in view will be threefold firstly, to prepare the country for self-sacrifice secondly to unify India and thirdly to give scope for local and cultural autonomy. The second and third objectives may appear to be contradictory but they are not really so. Whatever political talent or genius we may possess as a people will have to be used in reconciling these two objectives. We shall have to unify the country so that we may be able to hold India against any foreign invasion. While unifying the country through a strong Central Government we shall have to put all the minority communities as well as the provinces at their ease by allowing them a large measure of autonomy in cultural as well as government affairs. Special efforts will be needed to keep our people together when the load of foreign domination is removed because alien rule has demoralised and disorganised us to a degree. To promote national unity we shall have to develop our *Lingua Franca* and a common script. Further with the help of such modern scientific contrivances as aeroplanes, telephone, radio, films, television etc., we shall have to bring the different parts of India closer to one another and through a common educational policy we shall have to foster a common spirit among the entire population. So far as our *Lingua Franca* is concerned I am inclined to think that the distinction between Hindi and Urdu is an artificial one. The most natural *Lingua Franca* would be a mixture of the two such as is spoken in daily life in large portions of the country and this common language may be written in either of the two scripts Nagri or Urdu. I am aware that there are people in India who strongly favour either of the two scripts to the exclusion of the other. Our policy however should not be one of exclusion. We should allow the fullest latitude to use either script. At the same time I am inclined to think that the ultimate solution of the best solution would be the adoption of a script that would bring us into line with rest of the world. Perhaps, some of our countrymen who gape with horror when they hear of the adoption of the Roman script but I would beg them to consider this problem from a broader point of

historical point of view If we do that, we shall realise at once that there is nothing sacrosanct in a script The Nagri script, as we know it to-day, has passed through several phases of evolution Besides, most of the major provinces of India have their own script and there is the Urdu script which is used largely by the Urdu-speaking public in India and by both Muslims and Hindus in provinces like the Punjab and Sind In view of such diversity, the choice of a uniform script for the whole of India should be made in a thoroughly scientific and impartial spirit, free from bias of every kind So far as our masses are concerned, since more than 90 percent are illiterate and are not familiar with any script, it will not matter to them which script we introduce when they are educated The Roman script will, moreover, facilitate their learning a European language

With regard to the long period programme for a free India, the first problem to tackle is that of our increasing population I do not desire to go into the theoretical question whether India is over-populated or not I simply want to point out that where poverty, starvation and disease are stalking the land, we cannot afford to have our population mounting up by thirty millions during a single decade If the population goes up by leaps and bounds, as it has done in the recent past, our plans are likely to fall through It will, therefore, be desirable to restrict our population until we are able to feed, clothe and educate those who already exist

Regarding reconstruction, our principal problem will be how to eradicate poverty from our country That will require radical reform of our land-system, including the abolition of landlordism Agricultural indebtedness will have to be liquidated and provision made for cheap credit for the rural population An extension of the co-operative movement will be necessary for the benefit of both producers and consumers Agriculture will have to be put on a scientific basis with a view to increasing the yield from the land

To solve the economic problem, agricultural improvement will not be enough A comprehensive scheme of industrial development under state-ownership and state-control will be indispensable A new industrial system will have to be built up in place of the old one, which has collapsed as a result of mass production abroad and alien rule at home However much we may dislike modern industrialism and condemn the evils which follow in its train, we cannot go back to the pre-industrial era, even if we desire to do so It is well, therefore, that we should reconcile ourselves to industrialisation and devise means to minimise its evils and at the same time explore the possibilities of revising cottage industries where there is a possibility of their surviving the inevitable competition of factories In a country like India, there will be plenty of room for cottage industries, especially in the case of industries including hand-spinning and hand-weaving allied to agriculture.

The State on the advice of a Planning Commission will have to adopt a comprehensive scheme for gradually socializing our entire agricultural and industrial system in the spheres of both production and appropriation. Extra capital will have to be procured for this either through internal or external loans or through inflation.

At this stage I should like to say something more about the role of the Congress Working Committee. This Committee in my judgment is not merely the directing brain of the national army of fighters for freedom. It is also the shadow cabinet of Independent India and it should function accordingly. This is not an invention of my own. It is the role which has been assigned to similar bodies in other countries that have fought for their national emancipation. I am one of those who think in terms of a free India who visualise a national government in this country within the brief span of our own life. It is consequently natural for us to urge that the Working Committee should feel and function as the shadow cabinet of a free India.

To put up an effective fight in the near future it is necessary to put our own house in order. The awakening among our masses during the last few years has been so tremendous that new problems have arisen concerning our party organisation. Meetings attended by fifty thousand men and women are not an unusual occurrence now-a-days. It is sometimes found that to control such meetings and demonstrations our machinery is not adequate. Apart from these passing demonstrations there is the bigger problem of mobilising this phenomenal mass energy and enthusiasm and directing them along proper lines. Put have we got a well disciplined Volunteer Corps for this purpose? Have we got a cadre of officers for our national service? Do we provide any training for our budding leaders and for our promising young workers? The answers to these questions are too patent to need elaboration. We have not yet provided all these requirements of a modern political party but it is high time that we did. A disciplined volunteer corps manned by trained officers is exceedingly necessary. Moreover education and training should be provided for our political workers so that we may produce a better type of leaders in future.

While dealing with the question of enforcing discipline within our own party we have to consider a problem which has been causing worry and embarrassment to many of us. I am referring to organisations like the Trade Union Congress and the Kisan Sabha and their relations with the Indian National Congress. There are two opposing schools of thought on this question—those who condemn any organisation that is outside the Congress and those who advocate them. My own view is that we cannot abolish such organisations by force. They are a reality. They exist as objective facts and were they to have no real existence and show no signs of liquidating themselves it would be

manifest that there is a historical necessity behind them. Co-operation between the Congress and the other two organisations could be facilitated if the latter deal primarily with the economic grievances of the workers and peasants and treat the Congress as a common platform for all those who strive for the political emancipation of their country. This brings us to the vexed problem of the collective affiliation of workers' and peasants' organisations to the Congress. Personally, I hold the view that the day will come when we shall have to grant this affiliation in order to bring all progressive and anti-imperialist organisations under the influence and control of the Congress. There will, of course, be difference of opinion as to the manner and the extent to which this affiliation should be given and the character and stability of such organisations will have to be examined before affiliation could be agreed to.

There is one problem in which I have been taking deep personal interest for some years and in connection with which I should like to make my submission—I mean the question of a foreign policy for India and of developing international contacts. I attach great importance to this work because I believe that in the years to come, international developments will favour our struggle in India. But we must have a correct appreciation of the world situation at every stage and should know how to take advantage of it. The lesson of Egypt stands before us as an example. Egypt won her Treaty of Alliance with Great Britain without firing a shot, simply because she knew how to take advantage of the Anglo-Italian tension in the Mediterranean.

The first suggestion that I have to make is that we should not be influenced by the internal politics of any country or the form of its state. We shall find in every country men and women who will sympathise with Indian freedom, no matter what their own political views may be. In this matter we should take a leaf out of Soviet diplomacy. Though Soviet Russia is a Communist state, her diplomats have not hesitated to make alliances with non-socialist states and have not declined sympathy or support coming from any quarter. We should therefore aim at developing a nucleus of men and women in every country who would feel sympathetic towards India. To create and develop such a nucleus, propaganda through the foreign press, through Indian films and through art exhibitions would be helpful. The Chinese, for example, have made themselves exceedingly popular in Europe through their art exhibitions. Above all, personal contacts are necessary. Without such personal contacts, it would be difficult to make India popular in other countries. Indian students abroad could also help in this work, provided we in India look to their needs and requirements. There should be closer contact between Indian students abroad and the Indian National Congress at home. If we could send out cultural and educational films made in India, I am sure that India and her culture would become known

and appreciated by people abroad. Such films would prove exceedingly useful to Indian students and Indian residents in other countries who at present are like our non-official ambassadors.

I should remove a misgiving which may be present in some minds. Developing international contacts does not mean intriguing against the British Government. We need not go in for such intrigues and all our methods should be above-board. The propaganda that goes on against India all over the world is to the effect that India is an uncivilized country and it is inferred therefrom that the British are needed in order to civilize us. As a reply we have only to let the world know what we are and what our culture is like. If we can do that we shall create such a volume of international sympathy in our favour that India's case will become irresistible before the bar of world opinion.

I should not forget to refer to the problems, the difficulties and the trials which face our countrymen in different parts of Asia and Africa—notably in Zanzibar, Kenya, South Africa, Malaya and Ceylon. The Congress has always taken the keenest interest in their affairs and will continue to do so in future. If we have not been able to do more for them it is only because we are still slaves at home. A free India will be a healthy and potent factor in world politics and will be able to look after the interests of its nationals abroad.

I must in this connection stress the desirability and necessity of developing closer cultural relations with our neighbours viz. Persia, Afghanistan, Nepal, China, Burma, Siam, Malaya, States, East Indies and Ceylon. It would be good for both parties if they knew more of us and we knew more of them. With Burma and Ceylon in particular we should have the most intimate cultural intercourse in view of our very long contacts.

Friends, one word more and I have done. We are faced with a serious situation to-day. Inside the Congress there are differences between the right and the left which it would be futile to ignore. Outside there is the challenge of British Imperialism which we are called upon to face. What shall we do in this crisis? Need I say that we have to stand firm square against all the storms that may beset our path and be impervious to all the designs that our rulers may employ. The Congress too is the one supreme organ of mass struggle. It may have its right wing and its left but it is a common platform for all anti-imperialist organizations striving for Indian emancipation. Let us therefore rally the whole country under the banner of the Indian National Congress. I now appeal specially to the leftist groups in the country to put their strength and their resources for democratizing the Congress and reorganizing it on the broadest anti-imperialist basis.

In conclusion, I shall voice your feelings by saying that all India fervently hopes and prays that Mahatma Gandhi may be spared to our nation for many, many years to come. India cannot afford to lose him and certainly not at this hour. We need him to keep our struggle free from bitterness and hatred. We need him for the cause of Indian Independence. What is more—we need him for the cause of humanity. Ours is a struggle not only against British Imperialism, but against world imperialism as well, of which the former is the key-stone. We are, therefore, fighting not for the cause of India alone but of humanity as well. India freed means humanity saved.

## ULTIMATUM TO BRITAIN

*In spite of the opposition of the official Congress Subhas Bose was by a swamping majority elected President of the Tripur Session held in March 1935. For the first time in nearly 20 years the presidency had been openly contested but official Congress subsequently made it impossible for Subhas to continue as the President. In his presidential address he declared that it was a most opportune moment for hitting out at Imperialism and urged that the struggle should be extended to the Indian States.*

SINCE we met at Haripura in February 1935 several significant events have taken place in the international sphere. The most important of these is the Munich Pact of September 1938 which implied an abject surrender to Nazi Germany on the part of the Western Powers France and Great Britain. As a result of this France ceased to be the dominant power in Europe and the hegemony passed into the hands of Germany without a shot being fired. In more recent times the gradual collapse of the Republican Government in Spain seems to have added to the strength and prestige of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. The so-called democratic powers France and Great Britain have joined Italy and Germany in conspiring to eliminate Soviet Russia from European politics for the time being. But how long will that be possible? There is no doubt that as a result of recent international developments in Europe as well as in Asia British and French Imperialisms have received a considerable setback in the matter of strength and prestige.

Coming to home politics in view of my ill health I shall content myself with referring to only a few important problems. In the first place I must give clear unequivocal expression to what I have been feeling for some time past namely that the time has come for us to raise the issue of Swaraj and submit our national demand to the British Government in the form of an ultimatum. The time is long past when we could have adopted a passive attitude and waited for the Federal Scheme to be imposed on us. The problem as I regard it is not when the Federal Scheme will be forced down our throats. The problem is what we should do if the Federal Scheme is imposed by authority.

few years till peace is stabilised in Europe. There is no doubt that once there is stable peace in Europe, whether through a Four-Power Pact or through some other means, Great Britain will adopt a strong Empire policy. The fact that she is now showing some signs of trying the Arabs as against the Jews in Palestine is because she is feeling herself weak in the international sphere. In my opinion, therefore, we should submit our national demand to the British Government in the form of an ultimatum and give a certain time-limit within which a reply is to be expected. If no reply is received within this period or if an unsatisfactory reply is received, we should resort to such sanctions as we possess in order to enforce our national demand. The sanctions that we possess today are mass civil disobedience or Satyagraha. And the British Government to-day are not in a position to face a major conflict like an All-India Satyagraha for a long period.

It grieves me to find that there are people in Congress who are so pessimistic as to think that the time is not ripe for a major assault on British Imperialism. But looking at the situation in a thoroughly realistic manner, I do not see the slightest ground for pessimism. With Congress in power in eight provinces, the strength and prestige of our national organisation have gone up. The mass movement has made considerable headway throughout British India. And last, but not the least, there is an unprecedented awakening in the Indian States. What more opportune moment could we find in our national history for a final advance in the direction of Swaraj particularly when the international situation is favourable to us? Speaking as a cold-blooded realist, I may say that all the facts of the present-day situation are so much to our advantage that one should entertain the highest degree of optimism. If only we sink our differences, pool all our resources and pull our full weight in the national struggle, we can make our attack on British Imperialism irresistible. Shall we have the political foresight to make the most of our present favourable position or shall we miss this opportunity which is a rare opportunity in the life-time of a nation?

I have already referred to the awakening in the Indian States. I am definitely of the view that we should revise our attitude towards the States as defined by the Haripura Congress resolution. That resolution, as you are aware, put a ban on certain forms of activity in the States being conducted in the name of the Congress. Under that resolution, neither parliamentary work nor struggle against the States should be carried on in the name of the Congress. But since Haripura much has happened. Today we find that the Paramount Power is in league with the States authorities in most places. In such circumstances, should we of the Congress not draw closer to the people of the States? I have no doubt in my own mind as to what our duty is today.

Besides lifting the above ban, the work of guiding the popular movements in the States for civil liberty and responsible government



should be conducted by the Working Committee on a comprehensive and systematic basis. The work so far done has been of a piecemeal nature and there has hardly been any system or plan behind it. But the time has come when the Working Committee should assume this responsibility and discharge it in a comprehensive and systematic way and, if necessary, appoint a special sub-committee for the purpose. The fullest use should be made of the guidance and co-operation of Mahatma Gandhi and the co-operation of the All India States Peoples Conference.

I have referred earlier to the advisability of our making a final advance in the direction of Swaraj. That will need adequate preparation. In the first place we shall have to take steps ruthlessly to remove whatever corruption or weakness has entered our ranks largely due to the lure of power. Next, we shall have to work in close co-operation with all anti-imperialist organisations in the country, particularly the Kisan Movement and the Trade Union Movement. All the radical elements in the country must work in close harmony and co-operation and the efforts of all anti-imperialist organisations must converge in the direction of a final assault on British Imperialism.

Friends, today the atmosphere within the Congress is clouded and dissensions have appeared. Many of our friends are consequently feeling depressed and dispirited. The cloud that you see today is a passing one. I have faith in the patriotism of my countrymen and I am sure that before long we shall be able to tide over the present difficulties and restore unity within our ranks. A somewhat similar situation had arisen at the time of the Gaya Congress in 1922 and thereafter when Deshbandhu Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru of hallowed memory started the Swaraj Party. May the spirit of my late Guru of revered Motilalji and of other great sons of India inspire us in the present crisis and may Mahatma Gandhi who is still with us guide and assist our nation, help the Congress out of the present tangle is my earnest prayer.

## ON INDUSTRIALISATION

*What was Netaji's opinion about industrialisation? What were his views on Gandhiji's programme of village regeneration? In a speech at the National Planning Committee on December 17, 1939, Netaji explained how village industries could flourish side by side with large-scale industries*

I HAVE noticed an apprehension in certain quarters as to the possible effects of our efforts on industrial planning on the movement that has been going on since 1921 for the production of khadi and the promotion of cottage industries under the auspices of the All-India Spinners' Association and the All-India Village Industries Association respectively. There is no inherent conflict between cottage industries and large-scale industries. As a matter of fact, I divide industries into three classes, cottage, medium-scale and large-scale industries, and I plead for a plan which would lay down the scope of each of these classes. Not only that. In the National Planning Committee we have reserved a seat for a representative of the All-India Village Industries Association and a similar seat could also be arranged for the All-India Spinners' Association. It would be doing us a grave injustice if it be urged or even apprehended that the promoters of the National Planning Committee want to sabotage the movement for the revival of cottage industries.

Everybody knows or should know that even in the most industrially-advanced countries in Europe and Asia, for example, Germany and Japan, there are plenty of cottage industries in a flourishing condition. Why then should we have any apprehension with regard to our own country?

I may add a few remarks on the relation between cottage industries and large-scale industries. Among large-scale industries, mother industries are the most important, because they aim at producing the means of production. They put into the hands of artisans the necessary appliances and tools for facilitating quicker and cheaper production. For example, if in the city of Benares we could supply electrically-driven looms along with electrical power at the rate of half-anna per unit, it would be possible for the artisans working in their own homes to turn out sarees and embroidered cloth of different varieties at about five or

six times the present rate of production and it would enable them to compete successfully with foreign imported goods of this description. With a good organisation for marketing and for the supply of raw materials these artisans can be rescued from the depths of poverty and misery in which they have fallen.

If the power industry and the machinery manufacturing industries are controlled by the state for the welfare of the nation a large number of light industries like the manufacture of bicycles, fountain pens and toys can be started in this country by men of the artisan class working with the family as a unit. This is exactly what has been done in Japan. Success depends entirely upon the fact that power and machinery are extremely cheap there and the Japanese Government have set up boards for the supply of raw materials and for proper marketing. I believe that this is the only way by means of which the handloom industry and the silk industry of our country can be revived.

The National Planning Committee will have to tackle specific problems. It will have first to direct its attention to the mother industries i.e. those industries which make the other industries run successfully—such as the power industry industries for the production of metals heavy chemicals machinery and tools and communication industries like railway telegraph telephone and radio.

Our country is backward in respect of power supply compared with other industrially advanced countries. In the matter of electrical power particularly India's backwardness can be gauged from the fact that while in India we have at present only seven units per head a backward country like Mexico has 96 units per head and Japan about 500 units per head. In developing electrical power the Government has squandered money. How I wish an enquiry could be made into the manufacture of machinery and machine tools to keep up supplies in the event of interruption of communications with foreign countries owing to war or any other cause.

Lastly we will have to consider the most important problem of finding the necessary capital and credit for our plan of industrialisation. Unless this problem is solved all our plans will remain mere paper schemes and we shall not make any headway in our industrial progress.

## NO TRUCK WITH IMPERIALISM

*'In India we are now running down the curtain on an age that is passing away, while we are at the same time ushering in the dawn of a new era. The age of imperialism is drawing to a close and the era of freedom, democracy and socialism looms ahead of us. So said Subhas in his presidential speech at the All-India Anti-Compromise Conference at Ramgarh on March 19, 1940*

**Y**OU have done me a very great honour by inviting me to preside over the deliberations of the All-India Anti-Compromise Conference at Ramgarh to-day. At the same time, the responsibility you have thrown on my shoulders is onerous to a degree. This Conference is intended to focus all the anti-imperialist forces in the country that are now determined to resist a compromise with imperialism. To preside over a Conference is by no means an easy task. This task becomes all the more serious and arduous when the Chairman of the Reception Committee is no less a person than Swami Sahajanand Saraswati. It is in response to Swami's clarion call that we have assembled here to-day.

I shall fail in my duty if before proceeding to discuss the problem of the day, I do not pay a tribute to those who are responsible for organising this Conference. I happen to know something of the obstacles and the difficulties that had to be overcome before this Conference could meet and I can therefore speak with a certain amount of authority. These obstacles and difficulties were of a twofold character. In the first place, there were physical and material obstacles and difficulties to be overcome at Ramgarh before adequate arrangements for the Conference could be made. In the second place, persistent hostile propaganda all over the country had to be faced by the Conference. The most surprising and painful part of this propaganda was the determined endeavour of a section of Leftists (or shall I say pseudo-Leftists?) to make this conference impossible by openly condemning it and also by trying to sabotage it. As a matter of fact, during the last few months it has become more and more evident that a number of Leftists have begun to play the role of apologists of the Rightists but such a phenomenon is not new in history. Man lives to learn and the longer he lives, the more

does he realise the aptness of the oft repeated truism that history repeats itself

It has been argued by the apologists of the Congress Working Committee that the Congress is itself the biggest Anti-Compromise Conference and that such a Conference is therefore unnecessary. The resolution of the last meeting of the Congress Working Committee which met at Patna is held up before our eyes in order to demonstrate that the Congress has adopted an uncompromising policy. One cannot but admire the naivete of such an argument, but is it meet and proper for politicians and political workers to be so very naive?

One has only to go through the whole of the Patna resolution and particularly through the latter portion of it in order to realise that there are loopholes which detract from the intrinsic value of that resolution. No sooner was this resolution passed than Mahatma Gandhi came forward with the statement that the door had not been banged on future negotiations for a settlement. Mahatma's subsequent lengthy remarks on Civil Disobedience do not assure us by any means that the period of struggle has commenced. In fact, what has distressed and bewildered us during the last year and a half is the fact that while on the one hand red hot resolutions are passed and statements issued by members of the Congress Working Committee simultaneously remarks are made, and statements issued either by Mahatma Gandhi or by other Rightist leaders which create a totally different impression on the average mind. Then there is the moot question as to whether the Patna resolution would have been passed at all but for the pressure exerted by the Left during the last six months.

The country eagerly awaits a clear and unequivocal declaration from the Congress Working Committee that the door has finally been banged on all talks of a compromise with Imperialism. But will this declaration be forthcoming? If so when?

Those who aver that the Congress is the biggest Anti-Communist Conference perhaps suffer from shortness of memory and their brains consequently need refreshing. Have they forgotten that as soon as the war began Mahatma Gandhi proceeded to Simla without caring to consult the Congress Working Committee and informed His Excellency the Viceroy that he was in favour of rendering unconditional aid to Great Britain in the prosecution of the War? Do they not realize that Mahatma Gandhi being the sole Dictator of the Congress his personal views necessarily have a far reaching implication? Have they forgotten that since the outbreak of war the Congress Working Committee have tracked the main issue—namely our demand for fuller cooperation by putting forward a demand for a free Constituent Assembly? Have they forgotten that some prominent right leaders have been expelled from the Congress Working Committee have been expelled from the Congress?

down the implication of a Constituent Assembly and that they have gone so far as to accept separate electorates and the existing franchise for the Legislative Assembly as the basis for electing the Constituent Assembly of their dreams? Have they forgotten that after the resignation of Congress Ministries, several Congress Ministers have been showing an inordinate desire to get back to office? Have they forgotten the consistent attitude which Mahatma Gandhi has adopted during the last six months in the matter of a compromise with the British Government? And do they not know that behind the smoke-screen of hot phrases, negotiations for a compromise have been going on apace?

Unfortunately for us, the British Government have ceased to take the Congress seriously and have formed the impression that, however much Congressmen may talk, they will not ultimately show fight. Since September, 1939, there has not been any dearth of resolutions or statements. These resolutions have certainly not impressed the British, offered them only words, and we have received the time-worn reply that so long as the Hindu-Muslim problem remains unsolved, Purna Swaraj is unthinkable.

Since September last, India has been passing through a rare crisis when men's minds have fallen a prey to doubt and vacillation. The first to fall were the leaders themselves and the demoralisation that seized them has been spreading as a contagion throughout the land. A determined and wide-spread effort is needed if we are to stem the rot. To make this effort really effective our activities should be focussed at an All-India Conference of all those who are determined to have no truck with Imperialism.

The crisis that has overtaken us may be rare in Indian history, but it is nothing new in the history of the world. Such crises generally appear in periods of transition. In India, we are now ringing down the curtain on an age that is passing away, while we are at the same time ushering in the dawn of a new era. The age of imperialism is drawing to a close and the era of freedom, democracy and socialism looms ahead of us. India, therefore, stands to-day at one of the cross-roads of history. It is for us to share, if we so will, the heritage that awaits the world.

It is not to be wondered at that men's minds should be bewildered when the old structure is crushing under its own weight and the new has yet to rise out of the ashes of the old. But let us not lose faith in ourselves, or in our countrymen or in humanity in this hour of uncertainty. To lose faith would be a calamity of the first magnitude. Such a crisis constitutes the supreme test of a nation's leadership. The present crisis has put our own leadership to the test and the latter has been unfortunately found wanting. It is only by analysing and exposing the causes of its failure that we can learn the lesson of history and lay the

foundation of our future effort and achievement. But such analysis and exposure will necessarily be painful to all concerned though there is means of avoiding it.

I may digress at this stage and draw an analogy with similar crisis in other climes and ages. When the October revolution broke out in Russia in 1917 nobody had a clear conception as to how the revolution should be directed. Most of the Bolsheviks were thinking in terms of a coalition with other parties. It was left to Lenin to denounce all coalitions and give out the slogan — All Power to the Soviet. Who knows what turn Russian history would have taken but for this timely lead of Lenin's during a period of doubt and vacillation? Lenin's unerring instinct (or intuition) which ultimately proved to be prophetic saved Russia from disaster and from a tragedy similar to that which overtook Spain the other day.

Let us take a contrary case. Italy in 1922 was to all intents and purposes ripe for Socialism. All that she needed was an Italian Lenin. But the man of the hour did not arrive and the opportunity slipped out of socialist hands. It was immediately seized by the Fascist leader Benito Mussolini. Mussolini had one supreme virtue which not only saved him but brought him the laurels of victory. He knew his mind and he was not afraid to act. This constituted the essence of leadership.

To-day our leaders are wobbling and vacillation has demoralised a section of leftists as well. "Unity National Front" Discipline — these have become cheap slogans which have no relation to reality. Befogged by such attractive slogans they seem to have forgotten that the supreme need of the hour is a bold uncompromising policy leading us on to a national struggle. Whatever strengthens us for this purpose is to be welcomed. Whatever weakens us is to be eschewed. Unity which ties us to the apron strings of rightist politicians is by no means a blessing. We might as well induce the Congress to effect unity with the Liberal Federation — If unity is to be desired under all conditions and circumstances.

In the present crisis the most distressing phenomenon is the disruption within the ranks of those who were hitherto regarded as leftists. The immediate future will prove to be the acid test of Indian leftists. Those who will be found wanting will be soon exposed as such. The members of the Forward Bloc too will have to demonstrate by their work and conduct that they are really forward and dynamic. It may be that in the ordeal that is ahead of us some of those who are branded as rightists to-day will prove to be real leftists in a true and real mean.

A word is necessary here in order to explain what we mean by leftism. The present age is the anti-imperialist phase of capitalism.

Our main task in this age is to end imperialism and win national independence for the Indian people. When freedom comes, the age of national reconstruction will commence and that will be the socialist phase of our movement. In the present phase of our movement, leftists will be those who will wage an uncompromising fight with imperialism. Those who waver and vacillate in their struggle against imperialism—those who tend towards a compromise with it—cannot by any means be leftists. In the next phase of our movement, leftism will be synonymous with Socialism—but in the present phase the words “Leftist” and “Anti-imperialist” should be interchangeable.

In the event of a compromise being effected with imperialism in this country Indian leftists will in future have to fight not only imperialism, but its new-fangled Indian allies as well. This will necessarily mean that the national struggle against imperialism will be converted into a civil war among the Indians themselves.

Let us take time by the forelock and let us act while it is not too late. Swami Sahajanand Saraswati has sounded the clarion call. Let us respond to it with all the strength and courage that we possess. From this Conference let us send out a warning to both imperialism and its Indian allies. The success of this Conference should mean the death-knell of compromise with imperialism.

Before we part, let us also set up a permanent machinery for implementing the resolutions of this conference and for waging an uncompromising war with imperialism. Everybody now realises that if the Working Committee of the Congress does not give the call for launching a national struggle—others will have to do so. It would therefore be in the fitness of things for this Conference to set up a permanent machinery for undertaking this responsibility—should the Working Committee fail us in this crisis. I hope and trust that the deliberations of this Conference will be a prelude to work and struggle on a nation-wide scale and on an All-India front.



## INTENSIFY THE STRUGGLE

*Mr Subhas Bose made a scathing exposure of the halting wavering hesitating policy of the Congress towards launching an anti Imperialist struggle in his presidential speech at the All India Congress of the Forward Bloc held in Bombay in June 1940. Replying to those who wanted an assurance of success if such a movement were started Subhas says "Failures are often the pillars of success. So what does it matter if we fail? Not to try at all is more dishonourable than making the attempt and failing to achieve success." And again "The whole world is watching us today. What will the free nations of the world think of us if we miss the golden opportunity that has now come an opportunity that is rare in the lifetime of every nation? But nobody will think ill of us if we fight and then fail."*

**E**ARLY IN MAY 1939 the Forward Bloc of the Indian National Congress was inaugurated in Calcutta following a momentous session of the All India Congress Committee. In the last week of June 1939 the first session of the All India Conference of the Forward Bloc was held in Bombay and the constitution and programme of the Bloc were adopted there. Since then a year has rolled by—a year which will be memorable not only in the history of India but in the history of the whole world. We are, therefore, meeting at a most opportune moment and not a day too soon. We shall have to do a great deal of heart searching as well as stock taking. We shall then have to determine our course of action in the crisis which has overtaken India and the World—the crisis which is deepening and worsening not only from day to day but also from hour to hour.

The first question which I shall pose before you is: Have our policy and line of action been a correct one? And have we acted in the best interests of the country by launching the Forward Bloc? To that my reply is — Most certainly Yes. I shall remind you that we were constrained to start the Forward Bloc in the light of four considerations. The Right Wing had definitely told us that they would not work in co-operation with the Leftists in future and they had rejected the proposal of a Composite Cabinet which was our demand. Secondly Mahatma Gandhi and the Right Wing had told us that a national struggle in the

## INTENSIFY THE STRUGGLE

near future was out of the question. Thirdly, the attempt to consolidate the anti-imperialist and radical elements in the Congress under the name of the Left Bloc had been given up by the Socialists and Communists. Consequently, a further attempt at Left Consolidation could be made only by us and for that the Forward Bloc had become indispensably necessary. Fourthly, the Gandhites or Right Wingers had already consolidated themselves under the aegis of the Gandhi Seva Sangh, and any further delay on our part would have meant the strangling of the Leftist elements in the Congress by the Rightists.

Towards the end of April, 1939, when I was seriously considering the idea of resigning the presidentship of the Congress and inaugurating the Forward Bloc I had an interesting and important discussion with a very prominent Leftist leader of the Congress who has since then thrown himself into the arms of the Gandhites. He advised me to refrain from either course and he added that since an international storm was brewing, we should avoid everything in the nature of a split within the Congress. I replied saying that since a war was inevitable in the near future, it was all the more necessary that the Leftists should be organised and prepared in advance, so that in the event of the Rightists developing cold feet in a war situation, we at least could do something off our own bat. Differences had become so fundamental between the Right-Wing and the Left-Wing that a split, whether permanent or temporary, had become inevitable. That being the case, it was desirable that the internal crisis should come and should be transcended before the external or international crisis overtook us. I added that if I accepted my friend's advice and lay low for the present, the consequences would be far worse for us when the international crisis appeared. In such a crisis, we would never agree with the Rightists. But many people would blame us for causing a split, if we attempted to act on our own at that time. Moreover, if we did want to act independently then, we would have no organisation behind us to fall back on. Consequently, the argument of my friend only strengthened my case.

Looking back on the last twelve months, can we not claim that events have justified our policy and line of action? Barring the Kisan Sabha of Swami Sahajanand (and Prof. Ranga, Comrade Yagnik, etc.) and the Forward Bloc, who is there to stand up to the Rightists today? The Left Consolidation Committee which came into existence in June, 1939, after the formation of the Forward Bloc, has disintegrated by now. The Royists (or Radical Leaguers), the Congress Socialists and the Communists (or National Fronters) have in turn deserted the Left Consolidation Committee and only the Kisan Sabha and the Forward Bloc have been functioning as the spearhead of the Left Movement in this country. This was evident when we held the All-India Anti-Compromise Conference at Ramgarh in March, 1940. There we found that the Royists, Congress Socialists and National Fronters boycotted that Conference and threw in their lot with the Gandhites.

There can be little doubt today that if there had been no Forward Bloc and no Kisan Sabha, no voice would have been raised against the policy and line of action pursued by the Gandhites during the last 12 months.

We shall now consider another question — 'What has been our actual achievement during the past year?'

In the first place we can claim to have successfully resisted the tendency towards constitutionalism and compromise within the ranks of the Congress. Thanks to our efforts the Congress ministries had to vacate office as a protest against the policy of the British Government. If they had not done so they would have been carrying out the war policy of the Government of India, as agents of British Imperialism. In spite of all efforts made hitherto no compromise has yet been made with the British Government and for this, we can legitimately claim some credit.

Secondly we have so far frustrated all attempts to secure the co-operation of the Congress in the prosecution of the war. Friends will remember that in September 1939 when His Excellency the Viceroy invited Mahatma Gandhi for a talk at Simla on the war situation, the latter gave out that he was of the view that India should give unconditional help to Great Britain during the present war. This was reiterated by Mahatmajī in a press statement issued soon after the above interview. Nevertheless up till now the Congress Working Committee which usually follows Gandhiji blindly has ignored his views on such an all important issue. Would the same thing have happened if there had been no Kisan Sabha and no Forward Bloc?

Thirdly we can perhaps claim that we have succeeded in creating an atmosphere of struggle. Today we find Congress leaders drilling in shirts and shorts and Congress Committees being converted into Satyagraha Committees. Moreover the Rightist leaders have been constantly talking of a struggle. Would all these have taken place if there had been no Forward Bloc and if the Anti-Compromise Conference at Ramgarh had not shown which way the wind of public opinion was blowing? There is no doubt that to-day the talk of a struggle is everywhere in the air.

Lastly we can claim that at Ramgarh we launched our struggle with such strength and resources as we possessed. During the last three months a large number of our fellow workers including men of outstanding influence in the country have been arrested and incarcerated. Nine members of the All India Working Committee of the Forward Bloc are at present in prison or internment. In addition to them leaders of the Kisan Sabha headed by Swami Sahajanand Saraswati, Prof. Ranga and others are behind the bars.

The national struggle we launched at Ramgarh has been steadily gaining in strength and volume. The campaign has made considerable headway in Bihar and the United Provinces. In Bengal, the struggle was launched as early as January, 1940, over the question of civil liberty, which had been violated by the drastic ordinances promulgated by the Government in September, 1939. Thanks to the civil disobedience movement launched by the Bengal Congress, we have restored in a large measure the 'status quo' which existed prior to September 1939. The special session of the Bengal Provincial Political Conference which met at Dacca on the 25th and 26th May, 1940, took stock of the situation in the province and formulated a plan for intensifying the struggle and widening its scope. The Bengal Provincial Congress Committee will give effect to this plan.

Before I proceed to deal with the international situation, I shall refer to one or two criticisms which are constantly levelled at us. We are told, for instance, that we have created a split in the Congress. The fact, however, is that it is the Gandhites who have created a split by refusing to co-operate with the Leftists. We have all along been strongly in favour of joint action and a composite Working Committee for ensuring such action.

We are also told that we have brought disruption within the ranks of the Leftists. But it is not we who have caused disruption or disunity. The Royists, the Congress Socialists and the National Fronters (or Communists) have, one after another deserted the Left Consolidation Committee. We stand today exactly where we did twelve months ago. During these months, we have passed through an ordeal, suffering persecution, banter, ridicule—such has been our lot. But we have gone ahead along the path of uncompromising struggle in a most unflinching manner. Numerous fellow-workers of ours have been persecuted by the Congress High Command and in the Province of Bengal, owing to the disaffiliation of the Provincial Congress Committee, all Congressmen of our way of thinking have been thrown out of the Congress.

We are also told that without the help of the Gandhites, the struggle we have launched will prove to be a failure. To this allegation, our answer is as follows. It is too early to say whether our struggle will be successful or not. That will depend on whether the masses will join it or not. It always takes some time to get the masses to rally round the banner of a non-violent struggle. Let us, therefore, hold ourselves in patience yet awhile.

But, supposing for argument's sake the struggle will fail — does that mean that it should not have been launched? Could we not argue, on the opposite side, that the campaigns of 1921, 1930 and 1932 should not have been launched because they had not brought us Swaraj? Failures are often the pillars of success. So what does it matter if we

fail for the fourth time? Not to try at all is more dishonourable than making the attempt and failing to achieve success. The whole world is watching us to-day. What will the free nations of the world think of us if we miss the golden opportunity that has now come—an opportunity that is rare in the lifetime of every nation? But nobody will think ill of us if we fight and then fail.

Twelve months ago when the Forward Bloc was formed we were obsessed as it were, with the idea of the coming struggle and how to prepare for it in advance. At that time we did not know how far if at all outside events and international developments would aid us in our efforts to win Purna Swaraj. Consequently we had to make Self reliance our motto in life and action. To-day the situation has altered to some extent. In the war between rival imperialisms the old ones have been faring very badly indeed. During the last few weeks the Germans have carried on the campaign with lightning rapidity. Kings and Kingdoms have toppled down in the course of a few days and the German Army—the Reichswehr—has proceeded to the gates of Paris and occupied that queen of cities in a way which appears to the layman as a miracle in military warfare. What has been happening in Europe in a kaleidoscopic manner has had its inevitable repercussions on India. With every blow that she receives in Europe the imperialist might of Britain is bound to loosen its grip on India and other dependencies. The wheels of history are grinding on quite regardless of what we may be doing in India. Even a child should therefore understand that in order to win Purna Swaraj under the altered conditions of to-day we need much less effort and sacrifice than we did twelve months ago. But in order fully to utilise the opportunity which international events have presented to us we must have sufficient unity and solidarity among ourselves. If India could speak with one voice to-day our demand would indeed be well nigh irresistible.

If we can develop sufficient unity and solidarity among ourselves in good time we may very well hope that even if the country passes through a struggle and even if catastrophic events take place in Europe, the transference of power from the hands of British Imperialism to those of the Indian people will take place in a peaceful manner. It is not necessary that the Indian revolution should be a bloody one or that it should pass through a period of chaos. On the contrary it is desirable that it should be as peaceful as possible and a peaceful transition can be ensured if the people are united and are determined to have their freedom.

My own suggestion to you is that we should immediately go out into the country with the rallying cry—*All power to the Indian people!* This will galvanise the masses in a moment. In order to put forward this demand in an effective and irresistible manner we should leave no stone unturned in our effort to attain national unity. This effort will necessitate

the setting up of a machinery which will preserve harmony and good-will among the people under all circumstances. Such a machinery will be provided by a Citizens' Defence Corps organised on an all-party basis. But such a corps should be quite independent of the Government and will not work for the safeguarding of an enslaved India. Our Citizens' Defence Corps will only aim at preserving internal peace, harmony and good-will. The question of defending the country militarily from any other force or power is one which should concern the Government only and not the People, so long as India remains subjugated. What interest can we have in fighting for the perpetuation of our slavery, for that is exactly what is implied in fighting to defend an enslaved India.

The cause of the Allies' continuous defeat seems to-day lodged somewhere in their system. It was a system which Mr Clement Attlee, speaking, I believe, for the last time from the Opposition benches, said had failed to meet the need of the crisis. It was the fundamental weakness of a system in which slavery and freedom existed side by side that had resulted in Britain being "decisively beaten" on the propaganda front. This was what the *Daily Mail* said was happening. Propaganda radio-casts from the Reich, it wrote at the end of March, were "influencing not only the civilian population of Britain, but also our armed forces." "Goebbels," it asserted, "has had a walkover."

But we are not so much interested in a particular method as in the basic principles of action. And we are not to be dissuaded from pressing home our demand for the admission of our fundamental rights by a clouding of the issues and cry of "saboteur." We have too long been taken in by the cleverest imperialist propaganda.

Let us cease talking of saving Britain with the Empire's help or with India's help. India must in this grave crisis think of herself first. If she can win freedom now and then save herself, she will best serve the cause of humanity. It is for the Indian people to make an immediate demand for the transference of power to them through a Provisional National Government. No constitutional difficulties can be put forward by the British Government with a view to resisting this demand, because legislation for this purpose can be put through Parliament in twenty-four hours. When things settle down inside India and abroad, the Provisional National Government will convene a Constituent Assembly for framing a full-fledged constitution for this country.

Friends, these are some of my thoughts and suggestions to-day. I hope and trust that you will give them due consideration. In any case, I appeal to you not to leave Nagpur till you have in your pockets a concrete plan of action for winning Purna Swaraj in the immediate future.

Let us proclaim once again—"All power to the Indian people, here, and now."

## INDIA'S SALVATION IS AT HAND

*In his broadcast message in May 1942 from Berlin radio Subhas gave a most effective reply to those who described him as an enemy agent. "All my life I have been a servant of India" he said "Until the last hour of my life I shall remain one. My allegiance and loyalty have ever been and will ever be to India alone no matter in which part of the world I may live".*

**S**ISTERS and brothers! On the last occasion when I addressed you a few week ago I reminded you again of the deceit and hypocrisy underlying the policy of the British Government which culminated in the journey of Sir Stafford Cripps to India. Sir Stafford, on the one hand offered independence in the future and on the other demanded the immediate co-operation of India in Britain's war-effort. Strangely enough, the Indian people were apparently expected to accept the proposition. The contemptible offer was however rejected. This was a matter for joy and pride to Indians in all parts of the world.

It was a painful surprise to me to find that after the departure of Sir Stafford Cripps from India, and despite the refusal of the British Government to concede to India's demands some Congressmen have been publicly advocating a policy which amounts to unconditional co-operation with Britain in her war-effort. These gentlemen must have forgotten the resolutions of the Indian National Congress from 1927 to 1938. Was it not reaffirmed that when the next war came India should resist every attempt on the part of the British Government to trap her into fighting? In September 1939 when the present war broke out did not the Indian National Congress deliberately refuse unconditional co-operation with the Government and did it not take disciplinary action against prominent leaders for co-operating with the British Government?

I know that the new converts to the creed of co-operation will perhaps aver that they have altered their principles and policy in order to meet a new menace to Britain from without. But I would like to ask them how the British aggression, which the Indian People have been fighting so long can be destroyed? In spite of all that British propaganda has been saying or may say in future it should be clear

to all right-thinking Indians that in this wide world, India has but one enemy, the enemy who has exploited her for over a hundred years, the enemy who sucks the life-blood of Mother India British Imperialism It is a moral tragedy that some of my countrymen have been so duped by propaganda that they forget who is the real enemy

Britain's paid propagandists have been calling me an enemy agent I need no credentials when I speak to my own people My whole life is one long persistent, uncompromising struggle against British Imperialism, and is the best guarantee of my bona fides. Perhaps better than any other leading Indian of today I know foreigners and foreign politics I have known Britishers from my very childhood They are past-masters in the art of diplomacy, and if in spite of their best efforts they have been unable to prevent us from joining the struggle for our freedom, no other power can do so

All my life I have been a servant of India Until the last hour of my life I shall remain one My allegiance and loyalty have ever been, and will ever be to India alone, no matter in which part of the world I may live

Friends, since I spoke to you last, you will have noticed how the British Government, under the plea of fighting Japanese aggression, have opened the door to American aggression American diplomats, businessmen and army units are now in India, and if this process is not stopped, we shall soon have a new imperialism The British have been ousted from their position by Wall Street and the White House The Viceroy in his broadcast of the 3rd May appealed to you to form a National War Front He has given you wholesale advice to forget your differences and put up a common front against your enemies' For the coming struggle you must also strengthen public morale and eliminate all those who undermine it by thoughts of compromise The arms will reach your hands Be wise, get everything ready, for there is not a minute to lose' And here is a word of good cheer to all our comrades in Britain We are thinking of them day and night They will be the first to taste the joy of freedom when the hour arrives

Friends and countrymen, when the British Empire is disappearing, and the day of India's deliverance approaches, I want to remind you that in the year 1857 began India's First War of Independence In May 1942 has begun her last War of Independence Gird up your loins' The hour of India's salvation is at hand

We have been preparing not only for the last struggle, but also for the solving of post-war reconstruction problems in India—Azad Hind—to fight and win India's liberty, and then build up an India with full freedom to determine her own future with no interference Free India will have a social order based on the eternal principles of justice, equality and fraternity Last but not least, Free India, Azad Hind, will have free, happy and prosperous men and women who will take their proper place in the comity of free Nations



## PRICE OF FREEDOM IS BLOOD

*Freedom can never be had by begging. It has to be got by force. Its price is blood" said Subhas in June 1942 in his speech to the Indian National Army in Europe*

**B**RAVE soldiers! To-day you have taken an oath that you will give fight to the enemy till the last breath of your life under the National Tricolour. From to-day you are the soldiers of the Indian National Army of Free India. You have volunteered to shoulder the responsibility of forty crores of Indians. From to-day your mind, might and money belongs to the Indian Nation.

O Friends! You have the honour to be the pioneer soldiers of Azad Hind Fauj. Your names will be written in golden letters in the history of Free India. Every soldier who is martyred in this holy war will have a monument in Free India. The coming generations will shower flowers on those monuments. You are very fortunate that you have got this valuable opportunity to serve your motherland. Although we are performing this ceremony in a foreign land, our heads and hearts are in our country. You should remember that your military and political responsibilities are increasing day by day and you must be ready to shoulder them competently. The drum of Indian Independence has been sounded. Only we have to prepare for the battle ahead. We should prepare ourselves as early as possible so that we can perform the duties we have shouldered. I assure you that the time is not far off when you will have to use the military skill which you possess.

To-day we are taking the vow of Independence under the National Flag. A time will come when you will salute this flag in the Red Fort. But remember that you will have to pay the price of freedom. Freedom can never be had by begging. It has to be got by force. Its price is blood. We will not beg freedom from any foreign country. We shall achieve freedom by paying its price. It does not matter how much the

## PRICE OF FREEDOM IS BLOOD

price we have to pay for it I assure you that I shall lead the army when we march to India together The news of the ceremony that we are performing here has reached India It will encourage the patriots at home, who are fighting empty-handed against the British Throughout my life it was my ambition to equip an army that will capture freedom from the enemy To-day I congratulate you because the honour of such an army belongs to you Inquilab Zindabad'

means for the Indian people the struggle between the forces that want to maintain the status quo and those that are determined to overthrow it.

Can any one blame us, if in such conflict our sympathy lies with those powers that stand for the change—for the New Order? And when these Powers support our demand for freedom it is but natural that our sympathy for them should deepen into enthusiastic support.

The Tripartite Powers have rendered the greatest help to India's struggle by waging war with our eternal foe. And they have earned our lasting gratitude by offering us not only sympathy but active support and assistance.

Nevertheless it is our duty to pay for our liberty with our own blood. The freedom that we shall win through our sacrifice and exertions we shall be able to preserve with our own strength.

We, therefore, feel strongly that we should actively participate in the war against our common foe.

The enemy that has drawn the sword must be fought with the sword. Civil Disobedience must develop into armed struggle. And only when the Indian people receive the baptism of fire on a large scale will they qualify for their freedom.

## INDIA'S BRAVE DAUGHTERS

*Indian women in Syonan gave a rousing reception to Subhas on 12th July 1943. In replying to the welcome Subhas referred to the glorious role played in the struggle for national freedom by the womanhood of India since 1920 and called upon the women then present to join the Indian National Army and fight for the liberation of India.*

**SISTERS'** First of all, I want to thank you from the bottom of my heart for the grand welcome that you have given me. I am purposely calling it a grand welcome, because, I cannot conceive of a more magnificent welcome than what you have given me. Your brave attitude and your profound enthusiasm deeply impressed all of us. I have no doubt after this good beginning your work will progress rapidly from day to day.

You all know, as well as I do, of the part our women at home have taken in the Freedom Movement, especially during the last 22 years. From the very beginning of the new awakening in India, our women have taken a prominent part in all spheres of public life. But this has been particularly evident since the year 1921, when the Congress was reborn under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. It is not only in connection with the Congress movement or the movement of Civil Disobedience, but also, in connection with the secret Revolutionary Movement that our sisters have played a noble part.

In fact, it will be no exaggeration for me to say that there is no sphere of public activity, there is no department of national endeavour, in which Indian women have not played a prominent part. What is more, there is no suffering which Indian women have not gladly and bravely shared along with our men, in the course of several decades of our national struggle. Whether it is the work of touring from village to village without food and drink, whether it is a task of lecturing at one meeting after another, whether it is a task of carrying the Freedom message from door to door, whether it is a task of leading processions along public streets in defiance of the official orders and in spite of lathi charges by the inhuman British police, or whether it is a task of run-

ning election campaigns or whether again it is a task of facing bravely imprisonment, persecution, insult, humiliation of every kind, nowhere have our women been found wanting. And last but not least, our sisters, also played a prominent part in the secret revolutionary movement. And they have shown that when the need arose they could also arise like their brothers and play their part very well.

If today I express my fullest confidence in you in your capacity to suffer and fight for the freedom of your country, it is not an empty compliment which I indulge in simply for the purpose of rousing your enthusiasm. If I do so it is a result of my personal experience. I know what our women are capable of and, therefore, I say without the slightest exaggeration that there is no work that there is no sacrifice, there is no suffering which our sisters are not capable of undergoing.

The time has now come for us to make the last and final effort to achieve the liberation of our motherland. Such an opportunity is indeed rare in the lifetime of a nation. Certainly in our lifetime this opportunity will not come again, and perhaps not even for another hundred years. I must say that it is the grace of Providence that this opportunity has suddenly presented itself to us. And if we grapple this opportunity and make every effort to undergo every sacrifice we shall be able to achieve once and for all our national emancipation.

I know that among us there are men who have at one time thought that the British Empire was an everlasting empire, there are men who thought at one time that it was unbelievable that the British Empire could ever cease to exist but history tells a different tale. History teaches us that every empire has its fall just as it has its rise. And the time has come for the British Empire to disappear from the face of this world. We who stand on the battlefield of Singapore at least we should be convinced and we are convinced, that the British Empire is a thing of the past. We have seen with our own eyes how the Empire has disappeared from this part of the world and we will see how it disappears from another part of the world also—from India as well.

I remember having read years ago a book written by an Englishman called Meredith Conrad. Referring to India he remarked in that book that once the Indian people are united it would be impossible for the British to continue their domination over India. And in the course of his remarks he said that an Empire which rose in a day will vanish in a night.

I said in one of my radio talks not long ago that it took 20 long years to build Singapore and it took only seven days to evacuate Singapore. Well I cannot expect that we shall be able to drive out the British from India within a week but if we calculate mathematically we can find in how many weeks we shall be able to drive the British out of India as well when the final campaign is launched.

Sisters! I hope that every one of you has the fullest confidence that the time has come for us to make the final effort for our emancipation.

Even if it were possible to get our liberty without suffering, sacrifice, and struggle, I am sure that it would not be worth having, because freedom that is obtained without sacrifice and struggle would be difficult to be retained even if we are free. Therefore, if you want to liberate yourselves from the British yoke and thereafter to preserve your independence, if you desire that never again in history should we lose our freedom then it is necessary that in the course of our national struggle we should acquire that strength whereby we may win, and thereafter preserve our liberty for all time. We have to pay the price of freedom, and the price of freedom is suffering, sacrifice and struggle. I have no doubt in my mind, that we shall be able to put forth the necessary sacrifice and struggle, we shall be able to undergo cheerfully the necessary suffering, and thereby we shall not only be able to free ourselves from British domination, but thereafter be able to retain our freedom.

The time has come for us to begin our final preparations for the final struggle, in right earnest. We have no time to lose. No one can predict when the call may come, when the march will begin. Whenever the call comes we should be prepared immediately to begin our march. As I said the other day, there is but one thought in our minds, there is one cry which rises from our lips—"Onward to Delhi, Onward to Delhi!" The campaign which will begin here in Syonan, which has become the graveyard of the British Empire, that campaign will end only when we drive out the British from India and occupy our metropolis. And when we shall parade finally in celebration of our victory before the famous Red Fort of Delhi.

When I talk of your playing your part in the coming struggle, I do not forget the part that our sisters at home are already playing in the struggle at home. I do not forget that there are hundreds, perhaps thousands of our sisters rotting in British jails in India today, and it is their suffering, it is their sacrifice, which is inspiring the entire youth of our country. I have no doubt that our friends at home, men and women, boys and girls, will go on doing their part, but we know that that alone will not be enough to win our liberty. All the efforts that they may possibly put forward will not suffice to expel the Britishers from India, therefore we have a duty to perform and that duty is to bring assistance to India from without.

## THE DOOM IS NEAR

*The Indian citizens of Kuala Lumpur presented a purse to Subhas Bose on 5th September 1943. Thanking the donors Netaji gave a call for raising an army of three lakhs from among Indians living in the Far East and South East Asia and for bringing to perfection the Indian National Army already existing.*

**I** WILL NOW TELL you that what we want in cash is only a part of our total requirements. The time has come when we have to give our all in the service of our motherland. The days of minimum sacrifice are over. The time has come when each and every one of us has to think of the maximum sacrifice which he or she is able to offer and that sacrifice has to be in human life, in money and in other resources which are necessary in order to equip a modern army for its marches.

From my experience I am convinced that so long as the Indian people remain unarmed, so long as the British Government has a modern army under its control and so long as we do not take up arms for our struggle for freedom, we shall not be able to achieve independence for India. I do not know one instance—one single instance—in the whole history of mankind where a nation has been able to achieve full independence without resorting to arms. But apart from history, our natural experience in the course of several decades has convinced us that we have to take up arms in the final stage of our struggle if we want full independence and not a diluted form of it. So long as peace reigned all over the world, it was practically impossible for the Indian people to get arms and fight with arms. It was impossible for the people inside India. It was also impossible for the people outside India, but thanks to this war, what was impossible four or five years ago has today become possible. If you want arms, you can get them not inside but outside India. If you want to build up a modern army and equip it with all modern weapons, you can do so today. Five years ago you could not do it even if you wanted to. That is why I say this war has been a God-sent opportunity to us. It has given us a unique opportunity for achieving not Dominion Status or colonial self-government, but full and complete independence.

The only question I would like to put to you as Indians is, whether you really want full and complete independence. If you do, you must pay the price. You must organise a complete modern army and march with that army to India.

Today the British have one front—the Indian National Front, you may call it—inside India. The British with their army are able to cope with this Indian National Front. If you can put up a second front—not a bogus second front, but a real second front—then it will be impossible for the British to maintain their position in the country. I am convinced when the Indian National Army appears on the frontier of India its very appearance will be a clarion call to the people in general and also to the Indian army, to rally round the banner of Indian revolution. This is not a wishful dream on my part. I know that people at home are fully aware of our activities in East Asia and the British too are aware, but we do not care. The time has come when we could openly proclaim to the whole world what we have been doing, what we are doing and what we are going to do in the future. Our brethren in the Indian army who today are standing under the Union Jack are anxiously waiting for the Indian National Army on the continent of India. That is the position at home without any exaggeration. It is our duty to hurry up with our work and see that the National Army goes to the aid of India as soon as possible.

Ever since the existence of the Indian National Army was announced to the world and its intention of marching to Delhi, there has been a complete change in the tactics of British propaganda. Up to recently British propagandists have been saying that today Nippon has become the enemy of India and that its army intends to march into India, but ever since they realised that the Indian National Army had been formed and is getting ready to march into India, they are anxiously trying to work up the Indian people to stand against the Indian National Army. The British Government knows what the attitude of the Indian people and the Indian army will be when our army appears on the frontier of India.

But the most unexpected surprise came to me when I was told that British propagandists on the occasion of a Hindu festival had appealed to the Hindus of India to get ready to fight their brothers who are going to march in from outside. These British propagandists went so far as to say that the good old days have come back again!

Is it a very big effort that we have to bring an army of 200,000 to 300,000 to India? Look at the millions of people fighting on all fronts in different parts of the world! For the salvation of 38 crores an army of 300,000 or even 400,000 is nothing at all! And it is possible for the people of East Asia to contribute enough men for this army. It is possible also for the people in East Asia to contribute money and every



material for the equipment of this army. Therefore let us concentrate all our energy on the one task of organising an army and bringing it to perfection as soon as possible.

Our task today is to bring perfection as soon as possible to the army that exists today along with it we have to expand our army because the war is going to be a long and hard one. We want more and more young men to come in and get trained. We congratulate you that you have in the heart of Kuala Lumpur one of our camps where Indian young men are trained for the coming fight for freedom. Well it is not only in Syonan and Kuala Lumpur that they are being trained today. Malaya is dotted with camps and many of these camps were formerly camps of the British army. They have been turned over to us for use. That reminds me that when we go to India we shall also find readymade barracks for our National Army. We won't have to build new barracks. From Calcutta to Bombay and from Rawalpindi to Madras there are splendid barracks not for the Indian Army but for the British Tommy but these splendid barracks are going to be taken for our Indian National Army use.

Friends, to defeat Britain we shall need help from outside. The enemy is asking for help all over the world. The almighty British Empire over which the sun never sets that mighty British Empire is going round the world with the begging bowl. It is not merely at Washington that they are asking for help but all over the world even the poor Indian people, the enslaved Indian people, are not spared. Even Indian people have to give their share in men money munitions and war materials. They are begging of even Indian people to help them in their hour of need. We have to fight today not merely the might of Britain but the combined might of Britain and her Allies—a most powerful combination. If we are to fight and win we shall need help and take help when the time comes but there will be humiliation in accepting or asking for help when we have not first done our duty.

At this juncture the duty of the people of East Asia is to put forward the maximum effort. Remember you have an opportunity of doing something which your countrymen in other parts of the world cannot do. What can Indians in Europe Africa America or even in England do? They are helpless. I know many of them are dying to serve and fight for their country's freedom but it is impossible for them to do so. They are unable to organise an army or join the National Army. But all that is within your reach. If you only make it your mission you can join the National Army and work for its success. Therefore when the call of sacrifice reaches your ears, do not flinch. Thank Providence that He has given you of all Indians in the world a unique opportunity to serve your country and fight for your country's independence.

## AT BAHADUR SHAH'S TOMB

*An impressive ceremony took place at the mausoleum of Bahadur Shah, the last Moghul Emperor, on 16th September 1948 when Netaji paid a profound tribute to him for his valiant fight to overthrow the British rule in India in the First War of Indian Independence. Netaji expressed here his unshakable determination to bring about the final overthrow of British Imperialism in India.*

**T**ODAY WE HAVE assembled here near the tomb of Bahadur Shah, the last Emperor of Free India. It is perhaps strange, may be a lucky coincidence of history, that while the remains of India's last Emperor rest on the soil of Burma, the remains of the last king of free Burma, now rest on the soil of India.

We in India and in Burma have all along felt bound together historically by the most profound ties. And this coincidence of history is one of the most convincing proofs of these ties between Burma and India.

We are, both of our nations, passing through a common fight against our common foe, and we consider it to be in the fitness of things to have a small celebration before the mortal remains of our last Emperor, so that on the one side we might rouse the fire that burns within us and at the same time, strengthen further the ties that have bound Burma and India so long and that will bind us together for all time.

I should like to express our unshakable determination to fight shoulder to shoulder with our Burmese friends, assured of the magnanimous help and support of Nippon, so that we may bring about the final overthrow of British imperialism which will on the one side bring India her lost liberty and at the same time remove once for all the menace to Burma's safety and independence.

This time we express our unshakeable determination before a sacred memorial, before the mortal remains of the last fighter for India's freedom, the man who was an Emperor among men and at the same time, a man among Emperors. We cherish the memory of Bahadur Shah. We Indians, regardless of religious faiths, cherished the memory

of Bahadur Shah, not because he was the man who gave the clarion call to his countrymen to fight the enemy from without, but because he was the man under whose flag fought Indians from all Provinces, Indians professing different religious faiths the man under whose sacred flag Muslims and Hindus and Sikhs fought side by side in the war that has been dubbed by the British historians as the Sepoy Munity but which the Indians call as the First War of Independence. And now when we are engaged in the last war for India's independence it is all the more necessary for us to renew our unshakeable determination to fight this last war for independence to a finish regardless of all sufferings and sacrifices regardless of all difficulties on our path regardless of the length of this war so that at long last, the enemy the common enemy of Burma and India, will be finally overthrown and we will be free not only within our homes but free as comrades marching shoulder to shoulder to fulfil the common destiny of mankind

And now I shall close these few remarks by quoting the English meaning of a couplet which was composed by Bahadur Shah himself. As long as the last particles of faith exists in the souls of India's Freedom Fighters, the Sword of India shall continue to penetrate the heart of London

## GANDHIJI'S UNPARALLELED LEADERSHIP .

*"Mahatma Gandhi's services to the cause of India's freedom are unique and unparalleled. No single man could have achieved more in one single lifetime in similar circumstances." So said Subhas Bose in a rousing speech which he delivered at Bangkok on 2nd October 1948 on the occasion of Mahatma Gandhi's birthday. 'Now that the message of liberty has permeated the hearts of all Indians and they have got a countrywide political organisation (the Congress) representing the whole nation—the stage is set for the final struggle for liberty'"*

**T**HIS day, Indians all over the world are celebrating the birthday anniversary of their greatest leader, Mahatma Gandhi. It is customary on such an occasion to relate the life-experiences of the man whom we honour and to whom we pay our homage of love and respect. But the Indian people are so well-acquainted with the life and work of Mahatma Gandhi that it would be an insult to their intelligence, if I were to begin narrating the facts of his life. I shall, instead, devote myself to an estimation of the place of Mahatmaji in the history of India's struggle for Independence. The service which Mahatma Gandhi has rendered to India and to the cause of India's freedom is so unique and unparalleled that his name will be written in letter of gold in our national history for all time.

In order correctly to estimate Mahatma Gandhi's place in Indian history, it is necessary to take a bird's-eye-view of the British conquest of India. You all know that when the British first set foot on Indian soil, India was a land flowing with milk and honey and it was the wealth of India which had attracted poverty-stricken Englishmen from across the seas. Today we find that as a result of political enslavement and economic exploitation the Indian people are dying of hunger and starvation, while the British people who were once so poor and needy, have grown fat and rich on the wealth and resources of India. Through sorrow and suffering, humiliation and torture the Indian people have learnt at long last, that the only solution of their manifold problems is the recovery of their lost liberty.

Turning to the methods of the British conquest of India, we see that the British never attempted to fight the entire Indian population in any part of the country, nor did they try to conquer and occupy the whole of

India at once. On the contrary they always tried to win over a section of the people, through bribery and corruption before they commenced military operations. This was the case in Bengal, where the Commander-in-Chief Mir Jaffer was won over by the British by being offered the throne of Bengal. At that time the religious or communal problem was unknown in India. The last independent King of Bengal Siraj ud Dowla who was a Muslim, was betrayed by his Commander in Chief who was also a Muslim—and it was the Hindu Commander Mohanlal, who fought with Siraj ud Dowla till the very last. The lesson that we have learnt from this episode in Indian history is, that unless timely steps are taken to prevent and to punish treachery no nation can hope to preserve its independence.

The developments in Bengal did not unfortunately open the eyes of the Indian people in time. If even after the fall of Siraj ud Dowla in Bengal, the Indian people had made common cause against the British they would have easily succeeded in throwing the unwanted foreigner out of Indian soil. No one can say that the Indian people did not fight in order to retain their freedom—but they did not fight all together. When the British attacked Bengal nobody attacked them from behind. When later on the British fought Tippu Sultan in South India neither the Marathas in Central India nor the Sikhs in the North came to the rescue of Tippu Sultan. Even after the fall of Bengal it was still possible to overthrow the British through the combination of Tippu Sultan in the South the Marathas in Central India and the Sikhs in the North. Unfortunately for us this was not done. It was, therefore possible for the British to attack one part of India at a time and gradually extend their rule over the whole country. The lesson that we have learned from this painful chapter of Indian history is that unless the Indian people stand united before the enemy they will never be able to achieve their independence nor will they be able to preserve it even if they acquired it.

It took a long time to open the eyes of the Indian people. Ultimately in 1857 they woke up and they then made a concerted attack on the British in different parts of the country. When the fight began — the fight that the British historians call 'The Sepoy Mutiny' and we call the 'First War of Independence' — the British were easily defeated at first. But two factors accounted for our ultimate failure. All parts of India did not join in the fight and what is more significant the technical skill of our army commanders was inferior to that of the commanders of the enemy forces. It is a fact that Europe had made considerable progress in the art of modern warfare in the 18th and 19th centuries and the Indian people had not kept abreast of the times. Consequently when the final clash with the British forces took place our army leaders were found wanting. The lesson that we have learnt from our failure in 1857 is that in future the Indian people must keep up intimate contact with the progress made by other nations in every walk of life especially in the art of warfare.

After the defeat in 1857, the Indian people were disarmed by the British. It was the greatest folly and mistake on their part to submit to disarmament at the time. If the Indians had not been disarmed and thereby rendered helpless, it would have been possible for them to strike for their liberty once again, within a short period of time. Owing to the disarmament, however, the Indian people remained politically prostrate and despondent for nearly 30 years. Ultimately in 1885, a political awakening took place through the birth of the Indian National Congress. The Indian National Congress was in the beginning a moderate body. The leaders of the Congress were at first afraid of demanding complete independence and severance of the British connection. Within a brief span of 20 years, however, new life was infused into the Congress. By 1905, we find leaders like Aravinda Ghosh demanding complete independence for India. Along with this demand for independence more extreme methods were adopted for achieving liberty. In Bengal, boycott of British goods was adopted as a retaliation against the partition of the province and this method of boycott was gradually taken up all over India. Not content with economic boycott, Indian youths next took to the cult of the bomb and the revolver. A number of youths were sent abroad to learn revolutionary sabotage in Paris and other European centres, while Indian youths as a whole began to study the revolutionary methods adopted in other parts of the world—notably in Russia and Ireland.

During the last World War, the Indian leaders were duped by false promises made by unscrupulous British politicians and, as a result, India's blood and money were poured out in the service of Britain and in order to strengthen the chains of India's bondage. It must, however, be said to the eternal honour of the Indian revolutionaries that they did not allow themselves to be deceived by Britain and they did their best to work up a revolution in the country. But unfortunately for India, they failed.

When the last World War was over and Indian leaders began to demand the liberty that had been promised to them, they discovered for the first time, they had been betrayed by perfidious Albion, i.e., the British people and their politicians. The reply to their demand came in the form of the Rowlatt Act—or the Black Act—in 1919, which deprived them of what little liberty they still possessed. And when they protested against that Black Act—the Jhallanwalla Bagh massacre followed. For all the sacrifices made by the Indian people during the last World War, the two rewards were—the Rowlatt Act and the Jhallanwalla Bagh massacre.

After the tragic events in 1919, the Indian people were stunned and paralysed for the time being. All their attempts at achieving liberty had been ruthlessly crushed by the British and their armed forces. Constitutional agitation, boycott of British goods, armed revolution—all had alike failed to bring freedom. There was not a ray of hope left and the Indian people, though their hearts were burning with indignation, were groping in the dark for a new method and a new weapon of struggle.

Just at this psychological moment, Mahatma Gandhi appeared on the scene with his novel method of Non-co-operation and Satyagraha or Civil Disobedience. It appeared as if he had been sent by Providence to show the path to liberty. Immediately and spontaneously the whole nation rallied round his banner. India was saved. Every Indian's face was now lit up with hope and confidence. Ultimate victory was once again assured.

For 20 years and more Mahatma Gandhi has worked for India's salvation and with him the Indian people too have worked. It is no exaggeration to say that if in 1920 he had not come forward with his new weapon of struggle India today would perhaps have been still prostrate. His services to the cause of India's freedom are unique and unparalleled. No single man could have achieved more in one single lifetime in similar circumstances. The nearest historical parallel to Mahatma Gandhi is perhaps Mustapha Kemal who saved Turkey after her defeat in the last World War and was then acclaimed by the Turks as the 'Gazi'.

Since 1920 Indian people have learnt two things from Mahatma Gandhi which are the indispensable pre-conditions for the attainment of independence. They have first of all learnt national self-respect and self-confidence—as a result of which revolutionary fervour is now blazing in their hearts. Secondly they have now got a country-wide organisation which reaches the remotest villages of India. Now that the message of liberty has permeated the hearts of all Indians and they have got a country-wide political organisation representing the whole nation—the stage is set for the final struggle for liberty—the last war of independence.

It is not in India alone that a struggle for freedom has been heralded by a spiritual awakening. In the Risorgimento movement in Italy it was Mazzini who first gave the spiritual inspiration to the Italian people. He was then followed by the fighter and the hero—Garibaldi—who began the March to Rome at the head of one thousand armed volunteers. In modern Ireland too the Sinn Féin Party when it was born in 1900 gave the Irish people a programme which was very much similar to Mahatma Gandhi's Non-co-operation programme of 1920. Ten years after the birth of the Sinn Féin Party—that is in 1910—the first armed revolution in Ireland took place.

Mahatma Gandhi has firmly planted our feet on the straight road to liberty. He and other leaders are now rotting behind the prison bars. The task that Mahatma Gandhi began has therefore to be accomplished by his countrymen—at home and abroad.

Indians at home have everything that they need for the final struggle—but they lack one thing—an army of liberation. That army of liberation has to be supplied from without—and it can be supplied only from without.

I would like to remind you that when Mahatma Gandhi commended his Non-co-operation programme to the Indian nation at the annual session of the Congress at Nagpur in November 1920, he said, "If India had the sword today, she would have drawn the sword." And proceeding further with his argument, Mahatma Gandhi then said that since armed revolution was out of the question, the only other alternative before the country was that of Non-co-operation or Satyagraha. Since then times have changed, and it is now possible for the Indian people to draw the sword. We are happy and proud that India's Army of liberation has already come into existence and is steadily increasing in numbers. We have, on the one hand, to complete the training of this army and send it to the field of battle, as soon as possible, we have simultaneously, to build up a new army that can go on reinforcing the army in the field. The final struggle for liberty will be long and hard and we must go on fighting—till the last Britisher in India is either cast in prison or thrown out of the country. I would like to warn you that after our army of liberation—the Azad Hind Fauj or the Indian National Army—sets foot on Indian soil, it will take at least 12 months — and perhaps more — to liberate the whole of India from the British yoke. Let us, therefore, gird up our loins and prepare for a long and a hard struggle'.



## THE TIME HAS COME

*In his Presidential address to the East Asia Conference held at Sumner in June 1943 Subhas called upon all my countrymen in East Asia to line up in one solid phalanx under one leadership and prepare for the grim fight that is ahead of us. Subhas thus opened a second front for the "Quit India" movement launched by the Congress*

**I**F you were to hear my experience—at home and abroad—since the outbreak of the present war you would feel as I do that the hand of Providence has been protecting us from harm and has been guiding our efforts along the path leading to victory and freedom. This has increased my optimism and self-confidence a hundred fold.

The time has now come for freedom loving Indians to act. Action in a war-crisis demands above all military discipline as well as unflinching loyalty to the cause. I therefore call upon all my countrymen in East Asia to line up in one solid phalanx under one leadership and prepare for the grim fight that is ahead of us. I am confident that they will do so. I have today the confidence and support of all freedom loving Indians abroad, who are actively working for the emancipation of our motherland. Even Indians now living in enemy countries where they are unable to work actively for India's freedom are morally with us in the work that we are doing. Within my knowledge this is the first time in recent history that Indians living abroad have been united in one organisation for the attainment of one common goal.

What is perhaps even more remarkable is that patriotic Indians abroad are working in complete harmony with their countrymen at home. I have publicly declared several times that when I left home in 1941 on an important mission it was in accordance with the will of the vast majority of my countrymen. Since then despite all the restrictions imposed by the C.I.D.—that is the Secret Service—I have remained in constant touch with my countrymen at home. Today I can go so far as to inform you that during the last 12 months a large number of our representatives have been sent into India from outside from all directions. Some of them have been captured and shot for which we shall in due

time, exact full revenge But many more have been able to evade arrest, and, according to latest reports, they are working satisfactorily Thus, patriotic Indians abroad have been working as genuine trustees of the freedom-fight at home I can assure everybody once again that whatever we have done up till now, or may do in future, has been and will be, for freedom of India, and we shall never do anything that is either against the interest of India or will not be in accordance with the will of our people

I shall now deal with the question as to how we can win our liberty Some of my friends at home had hoped at one time, that under the pressure of an international crisis the British Government would, in its own interest accede to India's demand for independence These friends must have been disillusioned by now—because it is transparently clear that the British Government intends to exploit India more ruthlessly than ever before

Those of you who have studied the history of freedom movements in other lands — as I have done — must have observed, that for the achievement of independence two conditions are essential—first a favourable international situation, and secondly, necessary the sacrifice and effort The first condition has already been fulfilled If India had to fight single-handed with the British Empire, our task would have been exceedingly difficult The Tripartite Powers, however by fighting our enemy and inflicting staggering defeats on him, have lightened our burden to a considerable degree

My loyalty is to India and to India alone, and not even my enemies will have the audacity to urge that I am capable of betraying my country And, as I said in Tokyo the other day, if the British Government could not demoralise me after persecuting me all my life, nobody else can do so And if the cunning British politicians could neither cajole nor deceive me—no one else can

Friends' We have now the most favourable international situation and the most happy combination of circumstances Consequently all that is needed for winning freedom is sufficient effort and sacrifice The time has come to pass on to the next stage of our campaign All organisations, whether inside India or outside, must now transform themselves into a disciplined fighting organisation under one leadership The aim and purpose of this organisation would be to take up arms against British imperialism, when the time is ripe and the signal is given

In order to mobilise all our forces effectively, I intend organising a Provisional Government of Free India It will be the task of this Provisional Government to lead the Indian revolution to a successful conclusion To this end, the Provisional Government will have to prepare the Indian people — inside and outside India — for an armed struggle,

which will be the culmination of all our national efforts since 1885. When the revolution succeeds and Anglo-American Imperialism is expelled from India, the task of the Provisional Government will be over. It will then make room for a permanent Government to be set up inside India in accordance with the will of the Indian people.

We have a grim fight before us — for the enemy is powerful, unscrupulous and ruthless. In this final march to freedom—you will have to face hunger, thirst, privation, forced marches and death. Only when you pass this test, will freedom be yours. I am confident that you will do and thereby bring freedom and prosperity to your enslaved and impoverished land.

## CUSTODIANS OF INDIA'S HONOUR

*Addressing the Indian National Army at the military review in Malaya on July 5, 1943, Subhas announced that India's army of liberation had already entered the battlefield at Singapore. 'You are the custodians of India's national honour and embodiment of India's hopes and aspirations', he proclaimed*

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**S**OLDIERS of India's Army of Liberation! To-day is the proudest day of my life. To-day, it has pleased Providence to give me the unique honour of announcing to the whole world that India's Army of Liberation has come into being. This Army has now been drawn up in military formation on the battlefield of Singapore, which was once the bulwark of the British Empire. This is the army that will emancipate India from the British yoke. Every Indian must feel proud that this Indian Army has been organised entirely under Indian leadership, and that when the historic moment arrives, under Indian leadership, it will go into battle.

Comrades! My soldiers! Let your battle cry be "To Delhi, to Delhi!" How many of us will individually survive this war of freedom, I do not know. But I do know this, that we shall ultimately win and our task will not end until our surviving heroes hold the victory-parade in another graveyard of the British Empire—the Lal Quilla of ancient Delhi.

Throughout my public career, I have always felt that though India is otherwise ripe for independence in every way, she lacks one thing—an Army of Liberation. George Washington of America could fight and win freedom, because he had his army. Garibaldi could liberate Italy because he had his armed volunteers behind him. It is your privilege and honour to be the first to come forward and organise India's National Army. Soldiers who always remain faithful to their nation, who perform their duty under all circumstances, and who are always prepared to sacrifice their lives are invincible. Engrave these three ideals in the inmost core of your hearts.

Comrades! You are to-day the custodians of India's national honour and the embodiment of India's hopes and aspirations. So conduct yourself

that your countrymen may bless you and posterity may be proud of you I assure you that I shall be with you in darkness and in sunshine in sorrow and in joy in suffering and in victory For the present I can offer you nothing except hunger thirst, suffering forced marches and death It does not matter who among us will live to see India free. It is enough that India shall be free and that we shall give our all to make her free. May God bless our Army and grant us victory in the coming fight'

## “WHY I LEFT INDIA”

*Explaining the reasons that compelled him to leave India during the war Subhas said on July 9, 1943, ‘It took me full three months of prayer and meditation to decide if I had strength enough to face death in fulfilling my duty. My object in leaving India was to supplement from outside the struggle going on at home’*

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I WOULD like to tell you quite frankly what made me leave home and homeland, on a journey that was fraught with danger of every kind. I was lodged safely in a British prison, when I silently resolved to risk everything in the attempt to escape from the British. Having been in prison 11 times, it was much easier and much safer for me to continue there, but I felt that the cause of India's independence demanded a journey abroad, regardless of the risk that it involved.

It took me full three months of prayer and meditation to decide if I had strength enough to face death in fulfilling my duty. Before I could slip out of India, I had to get out of my prison and in order to do so I had to go on a hunger-strike, demanding my release. I knew that neither in India, nor in Ireland, had a prisoner succeeded in forcing the British to release him. But I felt convinced that I had a historic task to fulfil. So I took the plunge, and after seven days' of hunger-strike, the Government unexpectedly got unnerved and set me free, with the intention of taking me back to prison after a month or two. But before they could seize me again, I became a free man.

Friends, you know that I have been actively working in the independence movement ever since I left the University in 1921. I have been through all the civil disobedience campaigns during the last two decades. In addition to this, I have been repeatedly put in prison without trial, on the suspicion of having been connected with secret revolutionary movements whether non-violent or violent.

To put it briefly, therefore, my object in leaving India was to supplement from outside the struggle going on at home. On the other hand, the supplementary help from outside, which the national struggle

at home so urgently needs is in reality very small. The help that our countrymen at home needed and still need is a two-fold one, moral and material. Firstly they have to be morally convinced that their victory is assured. Secondly they have to be given military help from outside.

The time has come when I can openly tell the whole world including our enemies as to how it is proposed to bring about national liberation. Indians outside India, particularly Indians in East Asia, are going to organise a fighting force which will be powerful enough to attack the British Army in India. When we do so a revolution will break out, not only among the civil population at home but also among the Indian Army which is now standing under the British flag. When the British Government is thus attacked from both sides—from inside India and from outside—it will collapse and the Indian people will then regain their liberty. According to my plan therefore it is not even necessary to bother about the attitude of the Axis Powers towards India. If Indians outside and inside India will do their duty it is possible for the Indian people to throw the British out of India and liberate 38 million of their countrymen.

Friends let the slogan of three million Indians in East Asia be **Total Mobilisation For a Total War**. Out of the total mobilisation I expect at least three lakhs soldiers and three crores of dollars. I want also a unit of brave Indian women to form a death — defying Regiment who will wield the sword which the brave Rani of Jhansi wielded in India's First War of Independence in 1857.

Our countrymen at home are now hard pressed and they are demanding a second front. Give me total mobilisation in East Asia and I promise you a second front—a real second front for the Indian struggle.

## IN THE NAME OF GOD . .

*"In the name of God in the name of by-gone generations who have welded the Indian people into one nation, and in the name of the dead heroes who have bequeathed to us a tradition of heroism and self-sacrifice,—we call upon the Indian people to rally round our banner and to strike for India's freedom' On October 21, 1943 Subhas and his Provisional Government of Azad Hind issued a proclamation calling upon Indians in East Asia to join the final struggle for the overthrow of British imperialism in India*

After their first defeat at the hands of the British in 1757 in Bengal, the Indian people fought an uninterrupted series of hard and bitter battles over a stretch of one hundred years. The history of this period teems with examples of unparalleled heroism and self-sacrifice. And in the pages of that history, the names of Siraj-ud-Dowla and Mohanlal of Bengal, Haider Ali, Tippu Sultan and Velu Thampi of South India, Appa Sahib Bhonsle and Peshwa Bajji Rao of Maharashtra, the Begum of Oudh, Sadar Shyam Singh Atarwala of Punjab, and last but not least, Rani Laxmibai of Jhansi, Tatia Topi, Maharaj Kunwar Singh of Dumraon and Nana Sahib are for ever engraved in letters of gold.

Unfortunately for us, our forefathers did not at first realise that the British constituted a grave threat to the whole of India, and they did not, therefore, put up a united front against the enemy. Ultimately, when the Indian people were roused to the reality of the situation, they made a concerted move and under the flag of Bahadur Shah in 1857, they fought their last war as free men. In spite of a series of brilliant victories in the early stages of this war, ill-luck and faulty leadership gradually brought about their final collapse and subjugation. Nevertheless such heroes as the Rani of Jhansi, Tatia Topi, Kunwar Singh live like eternal stars in the nation's memory to inspire us to greater deeds of sacrifice and valour.

Forcibly disarmed by the British after 1857 and subjected to terror and brutality, the Indian people lay prostrate for a while but with the birth of the Indian National Congress in 1885, there came a new awakening. From 1885 till the end of the last World War, the Indian people,



in their endeavour to recover their lost property tried all possible methods, namely agitation and propaganda boycott of British goods terrorism and sabotage and finally armed revolution. But all these efforts failed for a time. Ultimately in 1920 when the Indian people haunted by a sense of failure were groping for a new method, Mahatma Gandhi came forward with the new weapon of non-co-operation and civil disobedience.

For two decades thereafter the Indian people went through a phase of intense patriotic activity. The message of freedom was carried to every Indian home. Through personal example, people were taught to suffer to sacrifice and to die in the cause of freedom. From cities to the remotest villages the people were knit together into one political organisation. Thus, the Indian people not only recovered their political consciousness but became a political entity once again. They could now speak with one voice and strive with one will for one common goal. From 1937 to 1939 through the work of the Congress Ministries in eight provinces they gave proof of their readiness and capacity to administer their own affairs. Thus on the eve of the present World War the stage was set for the final struggle for India's liberation.

For the first time in recent history Indians abroad have also been politically roused and united in one organisation. In East Asia in particular over two million Indians are now organised as one solid phalanx inspired by the slogan of Total Mobilisation. And in front of them stand the serried ranks of India's army of liberation with the slogan 'Onward to Delhi, on their lips'.

Having goaded Indians to desperation by its hypocrisy and having driven them to starvation and death by plunder and loot British rule in India has forfeited the good will of the Indian people altogether and is now living a precarious existence. It needs but a flame to destroy the last vestige of that unhappy rule. To light that flame is the task of India's Army of Liberation.

Now that the dawn of Freedom is at hand it is the duty of the Indian people to set up a Provisional Government of their own and launch the last struggle under the aegis of that Government. But with all the Indian leaders in prison the people at home totally disarmed it is not possible to set up a Provisional Government within India or to launch an armed struggle under the aegis of that Government. It is therefore the duty of the Indian Independence League in East Asia supported by all patriotic Indians at home and abroad to undertake this task—the task of setting up a Provisional Government of Azad Hind and of conducting the last fight for freedom with the help of the Army of Liberation i.e. the Azad Hind Fauj organised by the League.

Having been constituted as the Provisional Government of Azad Hind by the Indian Independence League in East Asia we enter upon our

duties with a full sense of responsibility that has devolved on us. We pray that Providence may bless our work and our struggle for the emancipation of our Motherland. And we hereby pledge our lives and the lives of our comrades-in-arms to the cause of her freedom, of her welfare and her exaltation among the nations of the world.

It will be the task of the Provisional Government to launch and to conduct the struggle that will bring about the establishment of a permanent National Government of Azad Hind constituted in accordance with the will of the Indian people and enjoying their confidence.

The Provisional Government is entitled to and hereby claims the allegiance of every Indian. It guarantees religious liberty, as well as equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens. It declares its firm resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts, cherishing all the children of the whole nation equally and transcending all the differences cunningly fostered by the alien Government in the past.

In the name of God, in the name of by-gone generations who have welded the Indian people into one nation, and in the name of the dead heroes who have bequeathed to us a tradition of heroism and self-sacrifice, we call upon the Indian people to rally round our banner and to strike for India's freedom. We call upon them to launch the final struggle against the British and their allies in India and to prosecute that struggle with valour and perseverance and with full faith in final victory until the enemy is expelled from the Indian soil and the Indian people are once again a free nation.

Proclamation signed on behalf of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind by

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE, Head of the State, Prime Minister and Minister for War, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Supreme Commander of the Indian National Army, Capt. Mrs. Lakshmi, Women's Organisation, S. A. Aiyar, Publicity and Propaganda, Lieut-Col. A. C. Chatterji, Finance, Lieut-Col. Aziz Ahmed, Lt-Col. N. S. Bhagat, Lieut-Col. J. K. Bhonsle, Lt-Col. Gullara Singh, Lt-Col. M. Z. Kivani, Lt-Col. A. D. Lokanathan, Lt-Col. Ehsan Quadir, Lt-Col. Shah Nawaz, representatives of the Armed Forces. A. N. Sahay, Secretary (with ministerial rank), Rash Behari Bose, Supreme Adviser, Karim Gandhi, Debnath Das, D. M. Khan, A. Yellapa, J. Thivy, Sirdar Ishar Singh, Advisers, A. N. Sarkar, Legal Adviser.

## GLORIOUS TRADITIONS OF INDIA'S WOMANHOOD

*On October 22 1943 Subhas opened the Rani of Jhansi Training Camp in the Andamans for the Women's Section of the Indian National Army when he recalled the heroic role played by Indian women throughout the ages right down to the Civil Disobedience Movement. I was told by some that though to raise a women's regiment might be possible in India it would be an impossible task in East Asia. What they said did not affect my conviction.*

**S**ISTERS and Brothers! The opening of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment camp is an important and significant function. It is a very important landmark in the progress of our movement in East Asia.

To realise its importance you should bear in mind that ours is not merely a political movement. We are engaged in the great task of regenerating our nation. We are ushering a new life for the Indian Nation and it is necessary that our new life should be built on sound foundations. Remember that ours is not a propaganda stunt; we are in fact witnessing the re-birth of India. And it is only in the fitness of things that there should be a stir of New Life among our women folk.

Our past has been a great and glorious one. India could not have produced a heroine like the Rani of Jhansi if she did not have a glorious tradition. The history of the great women in India is as ancient as the Vedic period. The greatness of Indian womanhood had its roots in those early days when India had its Sanskrit culture. The same India which produced great women in the past produced the Rani of Jhansi at a grave hour in India's history. And today while we are facing the gravest hour in our history I have confidence that Indian womanhood will not fail to rise to the occasion. If for the war of Independence of Jhansi India had to produce and it did produce a Lakshmi Bai today for the war of independence of the whole of India to liberate thirty-eight crores of Indians, India has to produce and shall produce thousands of Ranis of Jhansi.

In the same way as we have figures like Sita in India's ancient days, we have the inspiring examples of Abanibai of Maharashtra and

Bhawani of Bengal and Raziya Begum I have every confidence in the fertility of the Indian soil I am confident that India, as in the past, will also produce the best flowers of Indian womanhood

When in 1921 a new political life started in India, thousands, nay, lacs of our sisters also, joined the movement and came forward to make sacrifices In those days it was a great thing to go to prison Our Indian brothers and sisters got ready to undergo the ordeal of prison life and I remember still, how in December 1921 at Calcutta, the two jails were full The Britishers built two more jails and these were also packed in a few days'

When the Britishers found that the Indians were not restrained by fear, they changed their tactics They resorted to the method of throwing leaders into prison and using lathis and bullets against the masses Joining the civil disobedience movement then, meant willingness to face lathi-charges and gun-fire and the Indians—not only men but also women—got ready to face lathi-charges and gun-fire I cannot forget an incident in Calcutta when we held a procession against the orders of the Government and when the police tried to break the procession by lathi-charge some sisters made a cordon around us (coming between us and the police), without flinching the lathi charges Thus, I have witnessed while in India how the spirit and determination of our sisters have been growing stage by stage'

Not only in the history of the Passive Resistance Movement, but in the history of the Revolutionary Party also, we have the examples of our brave sisters who have played a noble part I know my sisters who became daring revolutionaries If one type of courage was necessary for passive resistance, another and more active courage is necessary for revolutionary efforts, and in this too, I found, our sisters were not wanting In 1931 an English Magistrate was shot by two girls; the age of one was 16, the age of the other was 17 In India even ordinary men shudder before magistrates, but these two young sisters bravely went to the house of the Magistrate and fired at him' You can easily imagine what wonderful courage those young sisters must have had' Such courage does not descend from the skies' It comes from the soil of India, it has its roots in the age-old traditions of India's past

Since 1928, I have been taking interest in women's organisations in India and I found that, given the opportunity, our sisters could rise to any occasion There was one Rastriya Mahila Sangha of ladies in Bengal which did splendid work In December 1928 a volunteer corps of 500 women was formed which was not only run on sound lines, but their parades and their discipline gave us great hopes and confirmed my belief in the fact that given the impetus and opportunity, Indian women could perform duties entrusted to them in a befitting manner I have also seen women's organisations in India giving training in arms available

in a slave country like lathies and daggers and the way our sisters were progressing was remarkable

And so when I began to undertake the task of guiding the Indian independence movement I felt that our sisters should also be given the opportunity to serve India at this grave emergency. I consulted many and I was told by some that though to raise a women's regiment might be possible in India it would be an impossible task in East Asia. What they said did not affect my conviction and my determination and today you have before your own eyes what our sisters have accomplished. Their work was started in July and if only now the training camp for them is being opened, the delay is not due to any short-coming on their part. The delay was due to our difficulties in finding the accommodation and making the necessary arrangements. Meanwhile I know that our sisters are getting impatient and anxious. I heard that they were intending to lead a deputation to me to ask me whether I have forgotten them. I feel happy today that the camp is ready and the camp is being opened today on the anniversary of the birthday of the Rani of Jhansi.

I may at this juncture say a few words about the Rani of Jhansi. When the Rani of Jhansi started her fight, her age was only 20. You can easily imagine what it would have been for a girl of 20 riding a horse and wielding her sword in the open battle. You can easily realise what courage and spirit she must have had. The English Commander who fought against her said that she was the best and the bravest of the rebels." He made this admission because when the Jhansi Fort was besieged she escaped with a party to Kalpi from where she put up another gallant fight. Then she had to retreat from this battle front. She then made an alliance with Tatyasaheb, attacked and captured Gwalior Fort and using that Fort as the base continued the battle and in this last and great battle she died fighting.

Imagine what amount of courage would have been necessary to carry on the fight in spite of more than one defeat! This 20 year old Rani had the courage and showed a valour which shall be a source of inspiration to Indians for generations to come.

Unfortunately the Rani of Jhansi was defeated. It was not her defeat. It was the defeat of India. She died, but her spirit can never die. India can once again produce Ranis of Jhansi and march on to victory.

One hundred and fifty-six of our sisters are going to start their training in the camp which is being opened today. But I hope that their number at Syonan will reach a thousand very soon. Training camps for women have also been started in Thailand and Burma. But at Syonan we have the Central Camp and I feel that in this Central Camp we should at least have one thousand potential Ranis of Jhansi.

## MODERN INDIA IN CHANGING WORLD

*Subhas addressed the students of the Imperial University at Tokyo when he explained that while India imbibed all the best aspects of modern civilisation she continued to draw her strength and inspiration from her three-thousand year old civilisation. India, he said had sufficient vitality, not only to win and retain independence but also to build a powerful nation. He referred to the prodigious amount of creative work done during the last century in spite of the cramping influence of foreign domination. Referring to Communism and Fascism he said that India was trying to work at a synthesis of the rival systems and embody the good points of both.*

**I** DO not propose to speak to such a distinguished gathering on the commonplace things that you hear or read about India. I think it would be far better if I speak on the more fundamental problems of India. Having been a student of philosophy myself, I am deeply interested in fundamental problems. I hope you will agree with me that I should rather speak to you on some of the fundamental problems that face my country.

In my travels abroad, I have often found that people generally had rather funny ideas about my country. For instance, among the people of Europe, the general idea about India is that it is a land in which three things can be found—snakes, monks and maharajas. Among those who have been influenced by British propaganda, the general idea about India is that it is a country in which people are always fighting amongst themselves, and where the strong hand of Britain is required to maintain peace and order.

If you approach the orientalist in Europe, i.e. the expert in Indology, you will find that they look upon India as a land of mystics and philosophers, a land which at one time produced a very rich philosophy, but which is today as dead as the ancient civilization of Egypt and Babylon.

Now the question is—What is India in reality? No doubt we have a very ancient civilization, but unlike other ancient civilizations such as

Egypt or Babylon or Phoenicia or even Greece the ancient civilization of India is not dead. It still lives in the present. We Indians of today think fundamentally the same thoughts, and have the same feelings, the same ideals of life, as our forefathers who lived 2000 years or even 3000 years ago. In other words there is continuity historical and cultural continuity extending from the ancient times to the present day—which is in some ways a very remarkable thing in history. Now in order to understand India this fundamental fact should first be understood, namely that the India of the past is not dead. India of the past lives in the present and will live in the future.

Against this ancient background we see the changes in our national life from age to age. During the last 3000 years people have come into India from outside with new ideas sometimes with new culture. All these new influences ideas and culture have been gradually absorbed into the national life of India so that in spite of the fact that fundamentally we have the same culture and civilization as we had several thousands of years ago we have changed and moved with the times. Today in spite of our ancient background we are able to live in a modern world and adapt ourselves to that world.

Those who have been influenced consciously or unconsciously by British propaganda have an impression that India was very easily conquered by the British and also that after the British conquest of India, our country was for the first time politically unified. Both these notions are entirely wrong.

In the first place it is not true that India was easily conquered by the British. It took the British 100 years from 1757 to 1857 finally to subjugate India. Secondly it is also an entirely wrong notion to think that the English unified India. India was for the first time politically unified nearly 2500 years ago under the Buddhist Emperor Asoka. In reality the India of Asoka the Great was even larger than the India of today. Asoka's India included not only modern India but also Afghanistan and a part of Persia. After the time of Asoka India went through many ups and downs in her national life. There have been periods of decay followed by periods of progress. But throughout these ups and downs in our national life we have been able to keep up our progress. About one thousand years after Asoka India again reached the zenith of progress under the Gupta Emperors. This was again followed by another glorious epoch in Indian history about nine hundred years later under the Moghul Emperors. Therefore—and this is a point worth remembering—the British notion that we have been unified politically under British rule is entirely wrong. All that the British have tried to do is to divide the Indian people and to weaken, disarm and emasculate them.

I shall now present before you a problem which will interest scientists and in particular students of sociology. The question is as

to whether the Indian people have any right to live as a free nation. Have they the strength and vitality left in them to live and to develop themselves as a free nation? I personally hold the opinion that if a nation once loses its vitality, its existence will have hardly any worth or value for mankind. The only reason why I stand for India's freedom and believe that as a free nation we shall have a glorious future is that I believe that we have sufficient vitality left in us as free men and to develop as a nation.

Now, if I have to answer this question as to whether sufficient vitality is left in us, I shall have first to answer two questions. Firstly, has our nation any creative faculty? And, secondly, is it prepared to fight and to die in order to preserve its existence? These two tests have to be applied to India.

With regard to the first question, we have seen that in spite of the British rule in India, in spite of the innumerable restrictions and disadvantages which follow from foreign rule, we have been able during the last century to give numerous proofs that in different departments of our national life we still have creative power.

The number of philosophers and thinkers produced in India, the number of writers and poets that enslaved India has produced, the new artistic revival in India, in spite of the British rule, the scientific progress made by the Indian people in spite of many difficulties in the way of their education, the standard attained by our leading scientists as compared with the scientists in different parts of the world, the industrial progress made by India as the result of her own effort and initiative, and last but not the least, the distinction which we have attained in the field of sport, all these go to show that in spite of being politically subjugated, the vitality of the nation has remained intact.

If under foreign rule and in spite of the obstacles and restrictions that follow such rule we could give so much proof of our creative faculty, then it stands to reason that when India is free and the mass of Indian people are afforded educational facilities, they will be able to give much better proof of their intellectual calibre and faculty in different walks of life.

I have just referred to the first test of a nation's vitality, namely, creative faculty. I shall now consider the second test, namely, as to whether the Indian people are able to fight and to die for the sake of freedom. On this point I should like to say, first of all, that since the last great fight that they had with the British in 1857, the Indian people have not given up the struggle against the enemy, even for a single day.

Unfortunately, owing to what I would call the folly of our forefathers, after our final defeat in 1857, the leaders of those days had



allowed themselves to be disarmed. Whatever difficulty we have subsequently experienced in trying to win back our freedom has been largely due to our having been disarmed nevertheless they continued to fight for their freedom in other ways

I shall not take up your time unnecessarily by giving a description of all the methods that have been used in India against British domination. I will only say this that all the methods that have been tried by the revolutionaries in different parts of the world for the achievement of their own independence, have been tried in India.

At the beginning of this century particularly after the victory of Japan over Russia in 1904 and 1905 the Freedom Movement in India got a new impetus and since then during the last 40 years, our revolutionaries have been studying very closely the methods of revolutionaries in other countries and they have tried to adopt as many of the methods as possible

They have tried also to manufacture secretly arms and explosives inside the country and to use those arms and explosives for the achievement of Independence. As a development of this struggle for freedom India tried a new experiment—Civil Disobedience or Passive Resistance—of which the best exponent is Mahatma Gandhi. There is no doubt that it has greatly helped to rouse and unify the Indian people and also to keep alive a movement of resistance against the foreign government. I should therefore, say that the fact that in spite of all the difficulties that result from foreign rule a nation can produce a new method with a large measure of success is also a proof of that nation's vitality. It shows that the nation does not accept enslavement as a settled fact and is determined to struggle against it and to work out new methods for achieving Independence.

I have as a revolutionary made a close study of the revolutionary movements in other countries and I can say without exaggeration that since 1857 we have used every possible method of revolutionary struggle. In the course of this struggle tremendous sacrifices have been made and many have given their lives. There was however one method that still remained for us to take up and that was the organisation of a real modern national army.

That work we had not done up till recently because it was impossible to do that inside India. But the moment this war gave the Indian people an opportunity of organising a modern Indian National Army outside India, they at once seized on it.

Having replied to the question regarding the vitality of the people and their right to live as a free nation I shall now attempt a sociological analysis of modern India. If you are to understand modern India you will have to take note of three important factors. The first factor is the ancient background that is the ancient culture and civilisation of

India, of which they feel justly proud. The second factor is the struggle that has gone on without any break ever since we were finally overpowered by the British. And the third factor consists of certain influences which have come into operation from the outside.

Modern India is composed of this ancient background, the unbroken national struggle against the British and the impact of influences from abroad. I shall deal with the influences which have reached India from outside and which have been responsible to some extent, in making modern India what it is to-day. Among these outside influences is the western thought of the 19th century, which was crystallized in Liberalism, Constitutionalism and Democracy. In other words, since 1857, modern Liberalism and Democratic thought has been influencing the intellectuals of India to a large extent.

From the beginning of the present century, a new factor came into operation. After the victory of Japan over Russia in 1905, the eyes of the Indian people were opened to a new movement in Asia, the movement for the revival not merely of Japan, but of other Asiatic countries. Since then, Indian thought has been greatly interested in Asiatic revival. During the last 40 years we have been thinking not merely of what was happening inside India, but also of what was happening in other parts of Asia.

Another important factor which has influenced our mind consisted of the revolutionary struggle that has gone on in the different parts of the world. Indian revolutionaries studied the Risorgimento movement in Italy under the leadership of Mazzini and Garibaldi and the struggle of the Irish people against their British oppressors. In Russia, before the last World War there was, as you know, a movement against the Czar called the Nihilist Movement. That also was studied. And in present times in India, Sun Yat Sen was also studied, very closely and with great interest by revolutionaries.

The Indian revolutionaries have been exceedingly receptive to the influence exerted by revolutionary struggles abroad. Then during the last World War, when the revolution broke out in Russia and, as a result of it a new government, the Soviet Government, came into existence, the work of that Government was studied with great interest.

People in India have not been interested so much in the communist movement as in the work of the reconstruction in Soviet Russia, in the rapid industrialisation of that country and also in the way in which the Soviet Government solved the problem of minorities. It was this constructive achievement of the Soviet Government which was studied with great interest by the people in our country. As a matter of fact an intellectual like poet Tagore, who had no interest in communism as such, was profoundly impressed when he visited Russia by the work

of educational reconstruction in that country. Then there is another influence that came to India from outside in more recent times. I mean the movement in Europe headed by Italy and Germany called Fascism or National Socialism. This movement was also studied by our revolutionaries.

In dealing with the question of our reaction to these outside influences I must point out that there is a big gulf between our generation and the last generation. As typical exponents of the last generation I would like to mention Tagore and Gandhi. They represent for us the last generation and between their thoughts and ideas and the thoughts and ideas of our generation there is a big gulf.

If you study the works of Tagore and Gandhi you will find that all along there is a conflict in their minds as to what their reaction to western influence should be. So far as Mahatma Gandhi is concerned he has not given us any clear solution of this problem. He has left people in doubt as to what his attitude is towards the acceptance of western ideas. Generally speaking his attitude is one of antagonism. But in actual practice he has not always acted in accordance with his own ideas, the reason being that the rest of his countrymen do not share that antagonism which Mahatma Gandhi personally has towards western ideas and conceptions.

You will know about Mahatma Gandhi's attitude on the question of violence and physical force. He does not advocate the use of arms or the shedding of blood of the enemy for gaining new freedom. This attitude towards violence or physical force is closely related to his general attitude towards foreign influence, particularly western influence. Our generation has followed Mahatma Gandhi as the leader of a political struggle but has not accepted his ideas on all these questions. Therefore it would be a mistake to take Mahatma Gandhi as the exponent of the thoughts and ideas of the present generation in India.

Gandhi is in some ways a complete personality and I would like to analyse his personality so that you may understand him better. In Gandhi there are two aspects: Gandhi as a political leader and Gandhi as a philosopher. We have been following him in his capacity as a political leader but we have not accepted his philosophy.

Now the question arises as to how we can separate these aspects. Why, if we do not accept his philosophy, are we following him? Though Gandhi has his own philosophy of life, he is a practical politician and therefore does not force his philosophy on the people. Consequently, though we are following him in our political struggle, we are free to follow our own philosophy. If Gandhi had tried to thrust his philosophy on us, we should not have accepted him as a leader. But he has kept his philosophy separate from his political struggle.

I have mentioned as representatives and exponents of the last generation, Tagore and Gandhi. Now let us compare their philosophies. There are some points in which they agree, but in some others they do not. The points on which they agree are, firstly that they should like to see the national struggle being conducted without the use of arms. In other words, on the question of physical force they have the same views. On the question of the use of machinery, on industrialisation of the country, they also have the same views. Both Tagore and Gandhi are against modern industrial civilization. But in the realm of culture, their views are not the same so far as thought, art and culture or art ideas of any other nation are concerned. In the realm of culture, while Tagore advocates full co-operation between India and the rest of the foreign influence, Gandhi does not. I am only referring to his general attitude on this question.

This problem as to what our reaction should be towards foreign influence and towards industrial civilization, troubled the leaders of the old generation all their lives and we see proofs of it in their actions. But this problem does not exist for us, our starting point is that, though we want a modern India based on the past, we do not believe that India can achieve freedom without the use of arms. Now, once you take this attitude that for winning freedom we have to fight and to use arms, it follows that we must have modern industries to manufacture arms. So we take our stand on modernism. We have to fight the enemy with modern methods, and with modern arms, so we must have modern industries. The problem for modern India is not our attitude towards modernism or foreign influence or industrialization, but how we are to solve our present-day problems.

I believe that modern Japan will understand our generation much better than modern Japan understood the last generation in India. Our stand is virtually the same. We want to build up a new and modern nation on the basis of our old culture and civilization. For that we need modern industries, a modern army and all those things necessary to preserve our existence and our freedom under modern conditions.

The moment India is free, the most important problem will be organising our national defence in order to safeguard our freedom in future. For that, we shall have to build modern war industries, so that we may produce the arms that we need for defence. This will mean a very big programme of industrialization.

After satisfying the needs of our nation in the matter of self-defence, the next problem in the degree of importance will be that of removal of poverty and unemployment. India to-day is one of the poorest countries in the world, but India was not poor before we came under British Rule. In fact, it was the wealth of India which attracted the European nationals to India. One cannot say that in the matter of national wealth or resources our country is poor, but rather that owing to British and

foreign exploitation the country has been impoverished. So our second most important problem will be how to give employment to the millions of the unemployed in India, and how to relieve the appalling poverty which now exists among the masses of the Indian people.

The third problem in a free India will be that of education. At present about 90 per cent of the people are illiterate. Our problem will be to give at least elementary education to the Indian masses as soon as possible, and along with that to give more facilities to the intellectual classes in the matter of higher education.

Connected with the problem of education is another problem and that is the question of script. In India there are principally two scripts in vogue. One is known as the Sanskrit (or Nagari) script and the other the Arabic (or Persian) script. Uptill to-day in all national affairs we have been using both these scripts. I must add that in some provinces there are scripts in vogue which are modifications of the Sanskrit script.

There is now a movement to solve this problem by using the Latin script. I personally am an advocate of the Latin script. Since we have to live in a modern world we have to be in touch with other countries and whether we like it or not, we have to learn the Latin script. If we could make the Latin script the medium of writing throughout the country that would solve our problem. Anyway that is my own view and the view of my closest friends and collaborators.

I have referred to three important problems in Free India. National Defence, how to remove poverty and how to give education to the people. If we are to solve these three important problems, how are we going to do them? Shall we leave it to private agency and private initiative or will the State take up the responsibility of solving these problems?

Well at present public opinion in India is that we cannot leave it to private initiative to solve these national problems, especially the economic problem. If we leave it to private initiative to solve the problem of poverty and unemployment, it will probably take centuries to solve them. Therefore public opinion in India is in favour of some sort of social system in which the State will take over the responsibility for solving economic questions. Whether it is the question of industrialising the country or modernising agriculture we want the State to step in and take over the responsibilities and put through reforms within a short period so that the Indian people could be put on their legs at a very early date.

But solving this problem we want to work in our own country. We will naturally benefit by experiments made in other countries but after all we have to solve our problems in an Indian way and under Indian conditions. Therefore the system that we shall ultimately set up will be an Indian system to suit the needs of the Indian people.

Now, if we do not tackle the economic question from the point of view of the masses, the majority of whom are poor, we shall produce the same confusion or the same difficulties in our country as are found in China today. You see in China today a split between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party. Personally, I do not see why this should have occurred, or why, if the Kuomintang Party has the interest of the Chinese masses at heart, there should be any need to have a separate party like the Communist Party under foreign influence.

Having learned from experience, we do not want to repeat the mistake that China has made. The nationalist movement in our generation is identified with the interests of the masses, i.e., the Indian people, and because we have their interests at heart, there is no *raison d'être* for a separate party like the Communist Party. If the Nationalists in India did not have the interest of the masses at heart you would have seen the same phenomenon in India as you see in China today.

Now we come to another question namely, the political system. It follows from what I have stated before that the political system must be such as to be able to carry out our economic programme in the best possible way. You cannot have a so-called democratic system, if that system has to put through economic reforms on a Socialistic basis. Therefore, we must have a state of an authoritarian character.

We have had some experience of democratic institutions in India and we have also studied the working of democratic institutions in France, England and the United States of America. And we have come to the conclusion that with a democratic system we cannot solve the problems of Free India.

Before I pass on to the next problem, I should like to mention another point namely, the attitude of Free India towards religion and caste. This is a question that is frequently asked. India has several religions. Consequently, the government of free India must have an absolutely neutral and impartial attitude towards them and leave it to every individual to profess any religious faith.

With regard to caste that is now no problem for us, because, as it existed in the old times, it does not exist today. Now, what is the caste system? The caste system means that a community is divided into certain groups on a professional or vocational basis and marriage takes place within each group. In modern India there is no such caste distinction. A member of one caste is free to take up any other profession. So caste in that sense does not exist today. Then there remains the question of marriage. In the old times it was essential to marry within each caste. Now-a-days, inter-marriages between the different castes take place freely. Hence caste is fast disappearing.

In this connection I should like to tell you that it was the British who created the impression throughout the world that we are a people quarrel-

ling among ourselves, especially over religion. But that is an absolutely wrong picture of India. It may be that there are certain differences among the Indian people, but such differences you will find in any other country. If we take the so-called progressive countries of the world e.g. France before the out break of the present war or Germany before Hitler and his party came to power you will find that there were acute differences among the people in these countries. Spain had even a first class civil war.

But nobody ever says that because the people in these countries had disputes and differences, they are not fit to rule themselves. It is only in the case of India that the British say that because there are certain differences among the Indian people therefore they are not fit to be free. Again the fact is that whatever differences there are among the Indian people they are largely the creation of the British Government. There are hundreds of examples to show that throughout the history of the British rule, the British have tried by every possible means to divide the Indian people. After having done so much artificially to create these they say that we are not fit to be free.

Take a modern power like Soviet Russia and see how heterogeneous is its composition and you will realise that, if in spite of this heterogeneous character so many different races professing so many different religions could be unified in one political system and become such a strong power there is absolutely no reason why India which has much more homogeneity than the Soviet Union should not be united as a nation. As a matter of fact you will find that outside India where there is no British influence there are no differences among Indian people. In the Indian National Army there is no question of religion or caste or class. It is only in India where the British have influence and control that you will find these differences.

I have already told you about the type of economic and political system that we would like to have in free India. On this arises the problem as to what our political philosophy is. On this question I gave my views in a book I wrote about ten years ago called "The Indian Struggle". In that book I said that it would be our task in India to evolve a system that would be a synthesis of the systems in vogue in different parts of the world. For instance if you take this conflict between Fascism (or what you might call National Socialism) on the one side and Communism on the other I see no reason why we cannot work out a synthesis of the two systems that will embody the good points of both. It would be foolish for anyone to say that any one system represents the last stage in human progress. As students of philosophy you will admit that human progress can never stop and out of the past experience of the world we have to produce a new system. Therefore we in India will try to work out a synthesis of the rival systems and try to embody the good points of both.

Now I would like to compare some of the good points of National Socialism and Communism. You find so many things common to both. Both are anti-democratic or authoritarian. Both are anti-capitalistic. Nevertheless in spite of these common points, they differ on other points. We see National Socialism has been able to create national unity and solidarity and to improve the conditions of the masses. But it has not been able radically to reform the prevailing economic system which has been built up on a capitalistic basis.

On the other side, let us examine the Soviet experience based on Communism. You will find one great achievement and that is, planned economy. Where communism is deficient is that it does not appreciate the value of national sentiment. What India would have is a progressive system which will fulfil the social needs of the whole people and will be based on national sentiment. In other words, it will be a synthesis of nationalism and socialism. This is something which has not been achieved by National Socialism in Germany today.

There are a few points in which India will not follow Soviet Russia. Firstly, class conflict is something which is quite unnecessary in India. If the government of free India begins to work as the organ of the masses, then there is no need for class conflict. We can solve our problems by making the State the servant of the masses.

There is another point that has been over-emphasised by Soviet Russia and that is the problem of the working classes. India being predominantly a country of peasants, the problem of the peasants will be more important than the problem of the working classes.

Another point on which we do not fully agree is that in Marxism too much importance is given to the economic factor in human life. We fully appreciate the importance of the economic factor which was formerly ignored, but it is not necessary to over-emphasize it.

Our political philosophy should be a synthesis between National Socialism and Communism. The conflict between thesis and anti-thesis has to be resolved in a higher synthesis. This is what the law of Dialectics demands. If this is not done, then human progress will come to an end. India will therefore try to move to the next stage of political and social evolution.

I will pass on to the last point in my address, and that is our conception of an international order. On this point I have already spoken several times in Tokyo. I fully support the steps that have been taken through the Joint Declaration to create a New Order in East Asia on the basis of Freedom, Justice and Reciprocity. I have been personally greatly interested in international problems, having tried to work in several countries in order to get support for our movement and in that



connection I also had the opportunity of studying the work of the League of Nations.

The experiment of the League of Nations failed and it is desirable and profitable for us to investigate as to why it failed. If I were to answer that question in a few words, I should say that it failed because the sponsor nations were too selfish and short sighted. The sponsor nations were England, France and the United States of America. America walked out of the League so the powers that controlled the League were England and France. Now these two leading powers, instead of setting an example of unselfishness tried to use the League for their own benefit. The only basis on which we can set up an international order is freedom, justice and reciprocity. Therefore the work in East Asia has commenced on the right lines and on the right basis. The only task that remains for us is to see that in actual work the principles embodied in the Joint Declaration are put into effect. If they are then the experiment will be a success. If not, then it will again prove to be a failure.

I have been from the beginning very enthusiastic about this Joint Declaration. There are several reasons. Firstly, it is on the right lines that the work has begun. Secondly, if you want to set up an international order it has to have a beginning in a particular region. If we make it a success in one region it can gradually be expanded all over the world.

It is very difficult to set up a World Order out of nothing and make it a success. But if you begin in one region and meet with success then that example will be emulated by other nations in other parts of the world. So the method of setting up a regional order is the only way in which a world order can gradually be built up.

The third reason is that I have found support for that idea or plan among the people of this country, and especially among the youth. If I had found that this new order was being sponsored by politicians or leaders and that the rest of the nation was apathetic or indifferent I should certainly not be optimistic.

I should like to repeat that this undertaking is for the Government and people of this country a great responsibility. As you know your Government was responsible for sponsoring this idea so you are the sponsor nation.

The success of this experiment will depend on the example set by the sponsor nation. The League of Nations failed because the sponsor nations were selfish and short sighted. This time if the nation that have joined together and particularly the sponsor nation avoid a selfish and short-sighted policy and work on a moral basis then I see no reason why the experiment should not be a success.

I should like to emphasize again the responsibility which Japan has undertaken by becoming the sponsor-nation in this task. And when I talk of the responsibility of its youths, I mean the youths of today will be the nation and the leaders of tomorrow. An idea which does not find support among the youths will die a natural death. Therefore, the responsibility for making this new order a success devolves, in the last analysis, on the youths of the country. I hope and pray and trust that the youths and the students who are the future representatives of the nation will realise the tremendous moral responsibility which Japan has undertaken in initiating this new order.

There may be people who doubt whether a nation can rise to a high moral level, whether a nation can be so far-sighted and unselfish as to undertake the work of establishing a new order. I have every faith in mankind. If it is possible for one individual to be unselfish, to live one's life at a moral level, I see no reason why an entire nation cannot also rise to that level. In the history of the world we have seen examples in which a revolution has changed the mentality of a whole nation and made it rise to a high level of morality.

I repeat in conclusion that the sponsor nation should realise the tremendous responsibility that it has undertaken. This is a task not only for the leaders and politicians, but for the whole nation and especially for youths and students who are the hope of the nation.

## THE PRICE OF FREEDOM IS BLOOD

*It was Subhas plan that the "Quit India" movement launched by the Congress should be helped to the maximum possible extent by Indians outside India, specially those in South East Asia, by forming a strong army that would strike at the British on the Burmese frontier. With this object he sent out in October 1943 a rousing appeal to Indians in Burma to join the Indian National Army and thus help in the liberation of the motherland. I demand of you blood" concluded Subhas. "It is blood alone that can avenge the blood that the enemy has spilt. It is blood alone that can pay the price of freedom. Give me blood and I promise you freedom.*

**I** WANT you to realise once again what a golden opportunity we have for winning freedom. The British are now engaged in a world wide struggle and in the course of this struggle they have suffered defeat on so many fronts. The enemy having been thus considerably weakened our fight for liberty has become very much easier than it was five years ago. Such a rare and God given opportunity comes once in a country. That is why we have sworn to fully utilise this opportunity for liberating our motherland from the British yoke.

I am so very hopeful and optimistic about the outcome of our struggle because I do not rely merely on the efforts of three million Indians in East Asia. There is a gigantic movement going on inside India and millions of our countrymen are prepared for maximum suffering and sacrifice in order to achieve liberty.

Unfortunately ever since the great fight of 1857 our countrymen are disarmed whereas the enemy is armed to the teeth. Without arms and without a modern army it is impossible for a disarmed people to win freedom in this modern age. Through the grace of Providence and through the help of generous Nippon it has become possible for Indians in East Asia to get arms to build up a modern army. Moreover Indians in East Asia are united to a man in the endeavour to win freedom and all the religious and other differences that the British have tried to engender inside India simply do not exist in East Asia. Consequently we have now an ideal combination of circumstances favouring the success of

## THE PRICE OF FREEDOM IS BLOOD

our struggle and all that is wanted is that Indians should themselves come forward to pay the price of liberty

You must continue the mobilization of men, money and materials with greater vigour and energy, in particular, the problem of supplies and transport has to be solved satisfactorily

Secondly, we require more men and women of all categories for administration and reconstruction in liberated areas. We must be prepared for a situation in which the enemy will ruthlessly apply the scorched-earth policy, before withdrawing from a particular area and will force the civilian population to evacuate as was attempted in Burma

Last, but most important of all, is the problem of sending reinforcements in men and in supplies to the fighting fronts. If we do not do so, we cannot hope to maintain our success at the fronts. Nor can we hope to penetrate into India

Those of you who will continue to work on the Home Front should never forget that East Asia and particularly Burma forms our base for the war of liberation. If this base is not strong, our fighting forces can never be victorious. Remember that this is a "Total War" and not merely a war between two armies. That is why for one full year I have been laying so much stress on "Total Mobilization" in the East

There is another reason why I want you to look after the Home Front properly. During the coming months I and my colleagues on the War Committee of the Cabinet desire to devote our whole attention to the fighting front and to the task of working up the revolution inside India. Consequently, we want to be fully assured that the work at the base will go on smoothly and uninterruptedly even in our absence

One year ago, when I made certain demands of you I told you that if you give me "Total Mobilization," I would give you a "Second Front". I have redeemed that pledge. The first phase of our campaign is over. Our victorious troops, fighting side by side with Nipponese troops, have pushed back the enemy and are now fighting bravely on the sacred soil of our dear motherland

Gird up your loins for the task that now lies ahead. I had asked you for men, money and materials. I have got them in a generous measure. Now I demand more of you. Men, money and materials cannot by themselves bring victory or freedom. We must have the motive-power that will inspire us to brave deeds and heroic exploits. We should have but one desire today, the desire to die so that India may live, the desire to face a martyr's death, so that the path to freedom may be paved with the martyr's blood

Friends! My comrades in the war of liberation today, I demand of you one thing above all. I demand of you blood. It is blood alone that can avenge the blood that the enemy has spilt. It is blood alone that can pay the price of freedom. Give me blood and I promise you freedom

## TO INDIA'S GREATEST MAN

*In a direct appeal addressed to Mahatma Gandhi not to compromise with British imperialism, Subhas explains why he decided to leave India and organize the Indian National Army to fight for the liberation of the country. Father of our nation! In this holy war for India's liberation we ask for your blessings and good wishes" concludes the appeal*

**F**OR INDIANS OUTSIDE India, differences in method are like domestic differences. Ever since you sponsored the Independence Resolution at the Lahore Congress in December 1929 all members of the Indian National Congress have had one common goal before them. For Indians outside India you are the creator of the present awakening in our country. The high esteem in which you are held by patriotic Indians outside India and by foreign friends of India's freedom was increased a hundred fold when you bravely sponsored the Quit India Resolution in August 1942.

I can assure you Mahatmaji that before I finally decided to set out on this hazardous mission I spent days, weeks and months in carefully considering the pros and cons of the case. After having served my people so long to the best of my ability I could have no desire to be a traitor or to give anyone a justification for calling me a traitor. Thanks to the generosity and to the affection of my countrymen I had obtained the highest honour which it was possible for any public worker in India to achieve. I had also built up a party consisting of staunch and loyal colleagues who had implicit confidence in me. By going abroad on a perilous quest I was risking not only my life and my whole future career but what was more the future of my party. If I had the slightest hope that without action from abroad we could win freedom I would never have left India during the crisis. If I had any hope that within our lifetime we could get another chance another golden opportunity for winning freedom as during the present war I doubt if I would have set out from home.

There remains but one question for me to answer with regard to the Axis Powers. Can it be possible that I have been deceived by them?

I believe it will be universally admitted that the cleverest and the most cunning politicians are to be found amongst Britishers. One who has worked with and fought British politicians all his life, cannot be deceived by any other politicians in the world. If British politicians have failed to coax or coerce me, no other politicians can succeed in doing so. And if the British Government, at whose hands I have suffered long imprisonment, persecution and physical assault, has been unable to demoralize me, no other power can hope to do so. I have never done anything which could compromise in the least, either the honour or the self-respect or the interests of my country.

There was a time when Japan was an ally of our enemy. I did not come to Japan, so long as there was an Anglo-Japanese Alliance. I did not come to Japan, so long as normal diplomatic relations obtained between the two countries. It was only after Japan took what I considered to be the most momentous step in her history, namely, declaration of war on Britain and America, that I decided to visit Japan of my own free will. Like so many of my countrymen, my sympathies in 1937 and 1938 were with Chungking. You may remember that as President of the Congress I was responsible for sending out a medical mission to Chungking in December 1938.

Mahatmaji, you know better than anybody else how deeply suspicious the Indian people are of mere promises. I would be the last man to be influenced by Japan if her declarations of policy had been mere promises.

Mahatmaji, I should now like to say something about the Provisional Government that we have set up here. The Provisional Government has, as its one objective, the liberation of India from British yoke, through an armed struggle. Once our enemies are expelled from India, and peace and order is established, the mission of the Provisional Government will be over. The only reward that we desire for our efforts, for our suffering and for our sacrifice is the freedom of our motherland. There are many among us who would like to retire from the political field, once India is free.

Nobody would be more happy than ourselves, if by any change our countrymen at home should succeed in liberating themselves through their own efforts or if by any chance, the British Government accepts your "Quit India" Resolution and gives effect to it. We are, however, proceeding on the assumption that neither of the above is possible and that an armed struggle is inevitable.

India's last war of independence has begun. Troops of the Azad Hind Fauj are now fighting bravely on the soil of India, and, in spite of all difficulty and hardship, they are pushing forward slowly but steadily. This armed struggle will go on, until the last Britisher is thrown out of India and until our National Tricolour proudly floats over the Viceroy's House in New Delhi.

Father of our nation! In this holy war for India's liberation, we ask for your blessings and good wishes.

## WHEN AIR WAS ANTI-INDIA RADIO

*In reply to the charge that the Indian National Army was a mercenary army Subhas in a speech in October 1943 delivered in Rangoon said "Anybody who has a grain of commonsense will realise that though a mercenary army can be organised by coercion a voluntary army can never be so organised. You can perhaps force a man to shoulder a rifle but you can never force him to give his life for a cause which is not his own"*

THE formation of the Azad Hind Fauj has been a source of extreme worry and anxiety to our enemies. They tried to ignore its existence for a time but when the news could no longer be suppressed their organ the Anti India Radio says that Indian prisoners-of-war under Japanese control had been coerced into joining the army. This propaganda could not endure long because the news began to infiltrate into India that large numbers of India civilians from all parts of East Asia were joining the Azad Hind Fauj. The experts of the Anti India Radio had therefore to alter their tactics. They then started fresh propaganda to the effect that Indian prisoners-of-war had refused to join the Azad Hind Fauj and that, thereupon Indian civilians were being forced into joining that army. It did not probably strike the wise-a-cres at Delhi that if it was impossible to coerce prisoners-of-war into joining the army it was even more impossible to coerce free civilians into becoming soldiers.

Anybody who has a grain of common sense will realize that though a mercenary army can be organised by coercion a volunteer army can never be so organized. You can perhaps force a man to shoulder a rifle but you can never force him to give his life for a cause which is not his own.

At an early stage our enemies used to say that the Azad Hind Fauj was no army that it was a mere propaganda stunt and that it would never fight. Later on the Anti India Radio at Delhi began to shout that the Azad Hind Fauj had not crossed the Indian border and now that the battle for India's freedom is being waged on Indian soil enemy propagandists have taken recourse to a last desperate trick. They are now inventing fictitious dates supposed to have been given out by

## WHEN AIR WAS ANTI-INDIA RADIO

us for our entry into Delhi and are abusing us for not reaching our destination according to schedule

I have already told you that the Azad Hind Fauj is composed both of ex-Army men as well as of ex-civilians I may inform you further that it is composed not only of men but also of women

Friends, the Azad Hind Fauj is an army which is not only composed of Indians, but it has also been trained by Indians That army is to-day fighting under Indian officers The Azad Hind Fauj is the military organ of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind The Provisional Government and its Army are the servants of the Indian nation Their task is to fight and liberate India When that liberation is achieved, it will be for the Indian people to determine the form of Government that they desire



## PRODUCE YOUR BANK BOOKS

*On October 25 1943 Subhas chastised the wealthy Indians in Malaya for being niggardly in their contribution to the war effort. When the I N A is getting trained either to march to victory or to spill its last drop of blood on the way the rich people are asking whether total mobilisation means ten per cent or five per cent! I would ask these people who are speaking of percentages whether we can tell our soldiers to fight and spill only ten per cent of their blood and save the rest.*

**W**HEN an army goes to the battle-field the responsibility of fighting and winning rests equally on every individual of the army whether he is an officer or an NCO or an ordinary soldier. Only that army will win every soldier of which is ready to do his duty. You must realise that the Indians in East Asia have today become an army which has to fight and win. As in the case of every soldier at the front, so also on every Indian in East Asia a great responsibility has fallen. I know that some of you are rich and some poor. I know some of you are educated while others are not. Whatever be your differences I want you to bear in mind that all of you are equal as far as your duty is concerned. I want every Indian in East Asia to do his duty.

I want you to think for yourselves and visualise what Free Indian Government would have done when faced with a grave emergency like a foreign invasion. Supposing India was a free country and supposing there was the danger of an attack by a foreign enemy what would the Government of Free India do? Would they not have started Total Mobilisation then? You could easily understand that this is the normal duty of any free government. Keeping this fact in mind I want you to realise what your duties are in our great attempt to get our Independence and maintain it.

Think also of what the procedure would be in a free country when it is in a state of war. Would there be meetings and appeals as in the case with us so far? No a free government on the other hand would issue only a call for all able bodied men between specific ages to assemble at a certain place on a certain day at a certain hour. Voluntarily and without any grumbling people will respond to the call.

## PRODUCE YOUR BANK BOOKS

Why? Because people of independent countries know that they have to make sacrifices for their liberty. And when a free government needs money to defend its independence, it does not proceed to call any meetings and start begging campaigns.

On the contrary, free governments prepare budgets of their requirements, think of ways and means to collect that money, and keeping in view financial condition of the people straight-away proceed to levy the necessary taxation. I would ask you whether any man refuses to become a soldier or to contribute war taxes in a free country? India is not yet free but we are free in heart and spirit. And by the establishment of the Provisional Government, we have become a free people.

Now it is our responsibility to liberate India and to establish a free government of India. If we feel that we are fit for independence, if we really desire independence, we should straight away live and act as we would do, if we lived in free India. Whatever we would have done in a free India in response to a call of the free Indian Government, it has become our solemn duty to do forthwith. Look at the people of Germany and Nippon and how in those countries all the resources of the people have been mobilised by the Governments.

Legally, there is no private property when a country is in a state of war. The Government has an absolute right over the lives and properties of its people during such emergencies. We too are a free people with a free Government. If you think that your wealth and possessions are your own, you are living in delusion. Every life and every property belongs to the nation when it is involved in a war. Your lives and your properties do not now belong to you, they belong to India and India alone.

If you do not want to realise this simple truth then you have another path clearly chalked out for you. If you do not want to shoulder your duties as free Indians living under a free Government, you have only one course before you and that is the path taken by the Englishmen. They lived as rulers once here, but now they have only one place left here and that is the prison. If you choose, you can go to prisons and keep company with the Englishmen! But remember this when the war is over, and India becomes independent you shall have no room in free India. If the Indian Government condescends to take pity on you the highest act of mercy which the Free Indian Government can do is to provide you with a third class ticket to leave the holy soil of India and go to England.

I have heard that some of the rich Indians in Malay are murmuring that I am harassing them. I want to have straight talk with them so that they can take a straight path hereafter. I have heard that some rich Indians are thinking of changing their nationality to save themselves.

from making contributions towards the cause of Indian Independence. I have also heard that some are thinking of handing all their properties to the custodians and of claiming them back after the war is over.

Then again I have heard of people who are thinking of adopting a ruse of promising say a lakh of rupees and trying to gain time by paying that amount in *small instalments*, hoping that sooner or later we will be going away to Burma and then to India and thus they would be able to evade payments.

But they are miserably in the wrong and it is not going to be so easy for them to deceive us and to shirk performing their duties. Whether we are in Syonan, or in Burma or in India itself our organisation shall remain here because it has to remain here to carry on its work till India becomes completely independent and the last Englishman is driven out of India.

I would appeal to every Indian whether he is a Hindu, Sikh, Muslim or Christian not to fall in performing his duties. I know who are doing their duties and who are shirking them.

So long as you say you are Indians and you want to claim and make money in East Asia as Indians, you cannot shirk performing the duties which devolve on you as free Indians. Do not think that it is left to your option to perform those duties or not. I stand here today representing the Provisional Government of Azad Hind which has absolute right over your lives and properties.

I assure you friends, I am not one who is accustomed to making empty threats. Whatever I say I say after the fullest considerations and I mean what I say. Even my enemies know that I seldom say what I do not mean. I have said that we have to get Indian Independence at any cost and that we have to carry out Total Mobilisation voluntarily if possible by compulsion if necessary and I would reiterate to you that I mean what I say.

I am really surprised to hear that there are a few people who are saying that it took years for them to amass their money and that they have many children to provide for. If on this account, they would have refused to make sacrifices, in a Free India under a free government I would ask you to imagine what would have happened to them? Surely they would have been regarded and treated as enemies.

Look at those who have volunteered to join the Indian National Army and who are now getting the necessary training. They do not know how many of them would live to see India free. They are getting ready with the one thought of shedding their last drop of blood. They are getting ready to go to a free India or to die on the way. There is no programme of retreat for them. Let the programme of retreat be reserved only for Wavell and his army.

When the I N A is getting trained either to march to victory or to spill its last drop of blood on the way, the rich people are asking me whether Total Mobilisation means, ten percent or five percent' I would ask these people who are speaking of percentages whether we can tell our soldiers to fight and spill only ten percent of their blood and save the rest'

When there are brothers and sisters coming for work in large numbers, offering their lives, I cannot understand why those who do not want to give their lives are even grumbling to part with their possessions. What is money after all? Compared with life money is nothing. Supposing a foreign Government tells you that you have to give the crore you possess or your life, surely you would rather choose to part with your crore than your life.

In the same way as young men have come forward to offer their lives, the poor classes have been coming forward voluntarily and with enthusiastic spirit to offer everything that they have. Poorer classes of Indians like watchmen, washermen, barbers, petty shopkeepers and gowalas have come forward with all that they have.

Some friends ask me what I mean by the word "Total Mobilisation". These poor men, who have volunteered not only their possessions, but also their lives, have demonstrated by their own example the exact meaning of the word "Total Mobilisation".

Some of these poor people came to me, and not only did they give all the cash they had in their pockets, but went further and gave me their "Savings Bank Books" which represent their lives' savings. Is there not one rich man amongst the Indians in Malay, who can come forward and say in the same spirit "Here is my bank-book" for the cause of Indian Independence?

India as a nation believes in the ideal of self-sacrifice. Among the Hindus we have the ideal of the Sanyasins and the Muslims have the way of the Fakirs. In our history we have instances of numerous kings who chose to become Fakirs for the sake of faith, justice and truth. Can there be a great cause, a nobler cause and a holier cause, than that of liberating 38 crores of human beings?

## NEW YEAR MESSAGE TO INDIA

*On New Year Day of 1945 Subhas sent out a message to Indians in and outside this country to keep up their morale and continue the fight against British Imperialism in spite of the turn that the war had taken. Though Subhas' calculations undoubtedly went wrong his worst enemies must admire the transcendent courage and dogged determination with which he carried on his armed campaign for India's freedom.*

**Y**OU CAN REST assured that we shall achieve in the fulness of time what we, three million Indians in East Asia, have pledged ourselves. The Azad Hind Fauj will break Britain's Maginot Line and enter the plains of Bengal and Assam. When we do that, we shall give you the signal. Then will your task begin—the task of rising in revolt simultaneously all over the country and of carrying our victorious forces forward and in the direction of Delhi.

Towards the end of October last I left Burma for a long tour of East Asia and I have been travelling from place to place since then. That is why I could not speak to you as often as I would have liked to. When I spoke to you last from Tokyo towards the end of November 1944 I promised to speak to you again on the international situation—but even that promise has not been redeemed up till now.

Before I proceed further I want to convey to all of you my warmest greetings and heartiest good wishes for the New Year. With the advent of the New Year the war is entering upon its third and final phase which will be for us the decisive and victorious phase of this war. All freedom-loving Indians and Indians in East Asia in particular must now gird up their loins and prepare for the maximum support of my countrymen in East Asia for the final and decisive phase of this war. There is no country in East Asia where Indians are not to be found and I am happy and proud to be able to say that they are all participating actively in India's struggle of liberty. Men, money and materials for our Azad Hind Fauj have poured in from every corner of East Asia and I am now fully assured that they will continue to pour in as long as our fight for freedom goes on.

During this tour, I have already been in Nippon, China, Indo-China, Malaya, and Indonesia, inspecting the work of our organisation there. And I have just concluded an intensive tour of Malaya, which, along with Burma, constitutes our principal base in East Asia. The donations that have come in from Malaya alone during my tour amount to seven million dollars and a New Year's gift to India is now being organized all over East Asia which will break all previous records.

Friends! My thoughts on this occasion go back naturally to those who have been rotting in internment camps, prisons and underground cells in India for long years. I also pay my tribute of homage to those brave souls who have been executed by our tyrannical oppressors, for the only crime of loving their country and working for her freedom. The suffering and sacrifice of our comrades will not be in vain. Justice will triumph in the end and freedom will come. We in East Asia have taken a solemn vow not to rest or pause until freedom's battle has been fought to a successful conclusion.

The war is now entering on its third and decisive phase. The first signs of this change were visible towards the end of October and the beginning of November last. But you can now see more signs of it. Those who were proclaiming from the housetops some months ago that the war in Europe would end in October 1944, are now constrained to alter their tone and to say that the war in Europe will not only continue through the whole of 1945, but may even go well into 1946.

The German counter-offensive, backed by new and powerful weapons like V-1, V-2, and jet-propelled aircraft, has taken our enemies completely by surprise. Loud and boastful enemy propaganda of the past months is now recoiling on its authors like a boomerang, and there is depression and gloom everywhere in England.

Germany, by withdrawing nearer her own frontiers by calling upon the entire nation to back up her armed forces militarily has scored an advantage over her enemies while through superior scientific technique, Germany is trying to attain parity with her enemies in the domain of war production. Even our enemies have had to admit that German morale is as strong as ever.

On the other hand, the rift between the Soviet on the one side and the Anglo-Americans on the other is becoming wider and wider. There is no agreement between the British and the Americans either, in their political policy in Europe. The world has seen the strange spectacle of the American Secretary of State, Stettinius, openly condemning British policy in Greece, Italy and Belgium, British troops who were supposed to liberate Greece, Italy and Belgium from German domination, are now busily engaged in shooting down the local inhabitants in all these countries. The recent visit of Churchill and

Eden to Greece and their attempt to patch up things there have met with utter failure.

Hence in East Asia, the situation for the Anglo Americans is much worse than what it is in Europe. When the Americans captured a few islands in the Pacific some months ago they began to indulge in such wild propaganda that people all over the world were led to expect that the Americans would be able to make a bee-line dash for the mainland of Nippon and thereby win a speedy victory. But the Americans have now realised that their island to island bopping tactics will not carry them very far. In fact, the American Commandor in Chief General Wedemeyer was constrained to come into the open and condemn American tactics in the Pacific which according to him could not lead to victory.

The Americans have by now begun to realise slowly that Nippon's naval strategy in the Pacific is analogous to Russia's strategy in the land campaign against Napoleon when he was advancing towards Moscow more than a century ago and that Nippon will be to the Americans what Moscow was to Napoleon. Napoleon met his Waterloo nearer home. The Americans will perhaps have to face their Waterloo nearer to Nippon mainland. Coming events will bear out the truth of my prediction.

At home the entire Nipponese nation has just mobilised for increased war production and the result of this total mobilisation will be apparent six months or one year later. Time is no longer working for the Anglo-Americans but is working for the Axis Powers and it is no wonder that the Anglo-Americans are in a beastly hurry to end the war as soon as possible before their morale begins to crack.

For us Indians therefore the general war situation to-day is as favourable as we can expect in a war of the present magnitude. The period of our enemies counter-offensive is coming to an end and from now onwards they will slowly but surely be pushed back until they go over to the defensive. This is the time we Indians must prepare ourselves feverishly for our next offensive in the Indian campaign.

As a matter of fact that is exactly what the Azad Hind Fauj is now doing. We have obtained valuable experience during the recent operations on the Indo-Burma frontier and inside India and in preparing for the next offensive the fullest use is being made of that experience. A sense of supreme confidence in final victory prevails among all ranks of the Azad Hind Fauj. Having beaten the enemy forces once in so many sectors of a far flung frontline over a period of several months and having taken a full measure of the strength of our enemies confidence in our final victory has increased a hundred fold.

## THE PARTING WORD

*The Second War of Independence, like that of 1857 ended in an apparent failure but it undoubtedly contributed to Britain's decision to transfer power to Indian hands in 1947. The story of the Indian National Army its determination and courage in the face of overwhelming might of the British forces will be written in letters of gold in the history of India. The speech given below was delivered by Subhas only a few months before he was reported to have perished in an air crash in Tokyo. The spirit of unshakable confidence that it breathes reveals a man who remained unbeaten in the face of death.*

**H**ERE, in Burma, we have lost the first round in our fight for freedom. Nevertheless, there is no reason why we should lose heart. If our enemies did not lose heart when they were expelled from Europe and East Asia—if your enemies, despite such staggering defeat, would continue the war and even launch a counter-offensive, we should exhibit at least as much strength and tenacity as our enemies have. You know that I have always said that we shall deserve to be free, only if we are more courageous, more tenacious, and more far-sighted than our enemies. If our enemies, after being expelled from Burma, could stage a come-back, there is no reason why we should not return to Burma again. The main point is whether our morale has broken down and whether we consider ourselves to be beaten. The Supreme Commander of the Allied forces in the last European War, Marshal Foch, once made a historic remark—"That Army is beaten which considers it is". Among those who have come with me from Burma, there is not one man or woman who considers himself or herself to be beaten.

War is in many ways like a match between two wrestlers. When the wrestlers are more or less equal in strength, victory will go to him who can hold out longer. If we have more spiritual strength than our enemies, then only shall we deserve to win freedom. Unfortunately, there are among us a few men who get easily upset and even panicky over slight setbacks. This is the psychological effect of slavery. The Indian people will have to overcome this weakness and to carry on the fight under all circumstances if they are to win in the long run.

There is another thing I should like to tell you in this connection. In a modern war, especially in a war of the present magnitude, many



things may happen which are least expected or anticipated. A famous military strategist and one of the founders of the science of the modern warfare, the German General and writer Clausewitz once said 'War has many surprises'. I shall give you a few instances to illustrate the truth of this remark. In the Balkan War of 1912, four Powers Rumania Bulgaria Greece and Serbia, made a combined attack on Turkey. Turkey was defeated in one battle after another until the Balkan Powers almost reached the gates of Constantinople (Istanbul). Everything seemed to be lost for the Turks and there was not even a glimmer of hope. All of a sudden disagreement and discord broke out among the four Balkan Powers which quickly developed into a war among themselves. Constantinople was saved. The Turkish forces launched a counter-offensive and they managed to recover most of the lost territories. We see, therefore, that if Turkey had surrendered when all hopes seemed to have gone, she would not have been able to turn the tide of the war as she actually did.

Take another example from the recent history of Turkey. In the last World War Turkey fought along side of Germany and Austria Hungary. But she was ultimately beaten. Constantinople the proud capital of Ottoman Empire was occupied by the Allied forces and the Sultan who was also the Caliph, was virtually made a prisoner. Seeing that the war was completely lost, the Sultan submitted to all the humiliating treatment imposed by the Allied forces and asked the Turks to cease all resistance. In that dark hour there was however one man who would not accept defeat. Mustapha Kemal Pasha who was then only one of the able Turkish officers left Constantinople and crossed over to Anatolia. He got together a band of faithful officers and with their help organised a new army from among the Anatolian Turks. That Army proved to be invincible and the Turks by their valour tenacity and indomitable faith recovered the freedom and victory that they had lost when they had such powerful allies as Germany and Austria Hungary. It is indeed one of the miracles of history that Turkey was badly beaten when she was fighting side by side with powerful allies and that when she put up a fight all alone after her defeat she came out victorious. The secret of this miracle was that Kemal Pasha and his fellow fighters did not accept the defeat at a time when all the other Turks headed by the Sultan himself did so.

I shall now give another instance from another part of the world namely Ireland. During the last World War when Ireland's enemy Britain was engaged in a life and death struggle for her own existence the Irish revolutionaries made a bid for freedom. True to their motto that Britain's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity, they rose in revolt during the Easter Week of 1916. The Easter Rebellion was however crushed inside of a week. At that time there were Irish people who called their own revolutionaries madmen. But though the Easter Rebellion was crushed so easily, the forces of revolution continued to

## THE PARTING WORD

work among the Irish people, and ultimately broke out in a more powerful revolution in 1919—that is, one year after the end of the war. It is a strange phenomenon in history that while the British could easily crush the Irish Rebellion of 1916 at a time when they were engaged in a life and death struggle, they had to acknowledge defeat at the hands of the same Irish revolutionaries after they (the British) emerged victorious from the World War. If the Irish revolutionaries had accepted defeat in 1916, the revolution of 1919 would not have taken place, and Ireland would not have been what she is to-day.

Similar phenomenon took place in India. During the World War our Indian revolutionaries tried to organise a rebellion in order to overthrow the British Power in India. That attempt was easily crushed. But the spirit of the Indian people did not acknowledge defeat. After Britain's victory in the last war and after the Jallianwala Bagh massacre in 1919, a political awakening of the Indian people under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi took place on such a grand scale that the British have not been able to suppress it up to now.

The lesson to be derived from all these events is that a nation which loses its morale and its faith in ultimate victory can never hope to be victorious. On the other hand, if in spite of temporary setbacks and defeat, we continue the struggle with undiminished faith in our final success, then no power on earth can deprive us of our well-deserved victory. Since we are fighting for justice and truth and for the birth-right of liberty, and since we are prepared to pay the full price of that liberty, freedom is bound to come if only we fight on.

There is no need to hide the fact that we have lost the first round in our war of liberation. But that does not mean that the fighting in Burma has come to an end. On the contrary, the Azad Hind Fauj and the Japanese Army are still fighting on various fronts in Burma and they will continue the fighting so long as it is humanly possible to do so. Those of us who have left Burma have not withdrawn from the fight. We have come with the sole intention of continuing the struggle on other fronts. We are moving from this battlefield to another. We have but one goal before us—and only one method of achieving the goal—the method of armed struggle. Therefore, the various reverses we have suffered recently in Burma do not affect our future programme in any way. "Chalo Delhi" continues to be the slogan and the war-cry of the Azad Hind Fauj. It may be that we shall not go to Delhi via Imphal. But the roads to Delhi are many like the roads to Rome. And along one of these many roads we shall travel and ultimately reach our destination, the Metropolis of India.

In all our recent experiences there is one thing which is to us tragic and humiliating. Whatever reverses we have suffered during a campaign of about 15 months, have been due not so much to the British forces, as to the British Indian Army, that barred our way to Imphal,

Calcutta and Delhi This year it has been the British Indian Army more than anybody else that has been responsible for the re-entry into Burma of the British. In the last century it was with the help of India that the British conquered Burma. There is however one silver lining in the cloud that has overtaken us and that is that the British Indian Army of to-day is not the British Indian Army of the last war. Soldiers of the Azad Hind Fauj have had numerous opportunities of coming in close contact with members of the British Indian Army. Very often our soldiers were told by the latter that if they (that is, Azad Hind Fauj) succeed in advancing further members of the British Indian Army would then come and join them. There is no doubt that at heart large sections of British India Army sympathise with the Azad Hind Fauj and its fight for freedom. But the British Indian Army have lost their self-confidence and they are afraid that the British might ultimately win in which case they would be in a difficult situation. Moreover they have been influenced to some extent by the propaganda of our enemies that the Azad Hind Fauj is a puppet army of the Japanese. After coming into Burma the eyes of the British Indian Army will be opened. They will see for themselves what the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and the Azad Hind Fauj have done and how they have fought for India's freedom. They will hear Jai Hind which is the greeting of all free Indians. They will also hear India's inspiring National Anthem sung by freedom loving Indians in Burma. The effect of this experience on the British Indian Army and on all other Indians who have come in Burma alongside of the British is bound to be great in the days to come.

Friends! I shall once again refer to the war in Europe. There was a time when German armies had advanced inside Russia right up to Stalingrad. I wonder how many people there were who in those days could imagine that the tide would turn that one day the Soviet Army would be in Berlin. Germany's defeat is one of the surprises of this war. Clausewitz was perfectly right when he said that War has many surprises. But there are more surprises to come and some of these surprises will not be welcome to our enemies. You know very well that I have been always of the opinion that if Germany collapsed it would be a signal for the outbreak of an acute conflict between the Soviet and the Anglo-Americans. That conflict has already broken out and it will be intensified in the days to come. The time is not far off when our enemies will realise that though they have succeeded in overthrowing Germany they have indirectly helped to bring into the arena of European politics another Power Soviet Russia that may prove to be a greater menace to British and American Imperialism than Germany was.

It is clear by now that the war aims of the Soviet Union are quite different from those of the Anglo-Americans although they had a common enemy in Germany. This has been further confirmed at the

San Francisco Conference where the Soviet Foreign Commissar M Molotov went so far as to challenge the credentials of the puppets of Britain and America who came to represent India and the Philippines, respectively. The differences that became visible at the San Francisco Conference are only a precursor of a much wider and deeper conflict between the Soviet and the Anglo-Americans which the future has in store for the world. While the conflict between the Soviet and the Anglo-Americans is going on, we should not fail to understand the real position and strength of our principal enemy—Britain. So long as Britain was without the aid of America, whether in Europe or in East Asia, she was badly beaten in every battle. Britain's recent successes have been due first and foremost to American leadership and American assistance. I have no doubt in my mind and I have said so again and again in the past, that the days of the British Empire are drawing to a close. The British Empire is a decadent and decaying empire, and it is endeavouring now to prolong its life with the help of the United States of America. But though the life of an old man may be prolonged with the help of skilful doctors and efficacious medicines and injections, it can never be restored to useful vitality. The British Empire is endeavouring to march on with the help of the American crutches, but these American crutches cannot help Britain very long. All that we have to do is to deliver a knock-out blow to British Imperialism in India which is the basis of Britain's world Imperialism.

Our programme in East Asia remains unaltered. I demand from my countrymen in East Asia "Total Mobilisation". We want more money, more men and more materials to replenish the losses we have recently suffered. Above all, we want an indomitable will and unshakeable determination. Let me remind you that it took the British full 100 years from 1757 to 1857 finally to subjugate India. Therefore, if we are to fight on for a few years more, in order to recover our liberty, nobody should grudge it.

It is no doubt encouraging to us in East Asia to find that Indians all over the world, even in enemy countries, are wide-awake. You have seen this recently in the case of the San Francisco Conference where Indians in America, headed by Sreemati Vijayalakshmi Pandit, demanded complete independence for India. Even a flunkey of British Imperialism, Sir Firoze Khan Noon, had to say in public that no power on earth could deprive India of her freedom. According to him the forces outside India, make India's demand for Independence irresistible.

I am addressing you as a revolutionary speaking to fellow-revolutionaries as I would have done if I had been in your midst. India is now feeling a political crisis, and if a wrong step is taken, we might suffer a setback in our march towards independence. I cannot tell you how worried I feel to-day because on the one hand independence is within sight while on the other hand, if a wrong step is taken, that independence may recede.

At the outset, let me tell you that enemy propaganda in India has been so successful that influential sections of our countrymen who only three years ago were convinced that independence was within grasp and who were determined to Do or Die in order to win that independence are now thinking in terms of Indianisation of the Viceroy's Executive Council. We who are outside India at this critical juncture can take a much more objective view of the entire world situation than many of our countrymen at home. It is therefore our duty to tell you frankly what we think and to advise you accordingly.

The crisis that faces India to-day has arisen because some influential section among our countrymen who only three years ago were shouting Liberty or Death are now prepared to enter into a compromise with the British Government on Lord Wavell's own terms. This attitude is entirely mistaken and unjustified for two reasons. Firstly there can be no compromise on the question of independence. Secondly, the situation is not what these countrymen of ours think and if we continue our resistance to British Imperialism we shall win our independence by the end of this war.

If among those who are listening to me now there is any one who has any doubt as to whether I am in close touch with what is happening all over the world he can himself judge from one ample fact. He must have noticed from my daily talks during the last week that I am in intimate touch with the daily developments inside India. If I am in touch with the daily developments at home I can easily be in touch with what is happening all over the world. On the other hand for those who are inside India and who cannot see what is happening in that part of the world that is not dominated by the Anglo-Americans and who are victims of skilful enemy propaganda it is difficult to form an objective opinion of the entire world situation. To-day the whole world is in the melting pot and India's destiny is bound up to some extent with what is happening all over the world.

Now why am I so optimistic at a time when some of our prominent leaders have developed such a defeatist mentality? It is because of two principal reasons. Firstly we are carrying on an armed struggle against the British and their Allies and we are not pessimistic about the situation in East Asia in spite of our recent reverses in Burma. Secondly India has become an international issue and if that issue is not converted into a domestic issue of the British Empire India's case will come up before the bar of world opinion. Can you not see with your own eyes or hear how Syria and Lebanon are exploiting the world situation to their advantage by creating a split within the camp of the so-called Allied Nations? We are not less intelligent or less far-sighted than the leaders of Syria and Lebanon. But if we want to bring the Indian issue before the bar of world opinion we have to do two things.

## THE PARTING WORD

Firstly, we have to prevent any compromise with British Imperialism. Secondly, we have to assert India's right to freedom with arms. If our countrymen at home cannot take up arms, or they cannot continue with civil disobedience against Britain's war efforts, let them at least keep up moral resistance to British Imperialism and refuse to come to any compromise. We shall continue to assert India's right of freedom with arms, and so long as we do so no power on earth can prevent India remaining an international issue, provided they do not let us down by compromising with the British Government.

I understand that some of the leaders at home are furious with me for opposing their plans for a compromise with the British Government. They are also furious with me for pointing out that the Congress Working Committee does not represent left wing opinion in the Congress and in the country. These infuriated leaders are abusing me for taking the help of the Nipponese.

I am not ashamed of taking the help of Nippon. By co-operation with Nippon on this basis, Nippon has recognised India's complete independence and has granted formal recognition to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind or Free India. But those who now want to co-operate with British Government, and fight Britain's Imperialist War, are prepared to accept the position of subordinates responsible to Britain's Viceroy in India. If they were to co-operate with British Government on the basis that Britain grants formal recognition to a Government of Free India that would be a different matter.

Moreover, Nippon has given us the arms with which to organise an army which is Indian from top to bottom. This army, the Azad Hind Fauj, has been trained by Indian instructors using the Indian language. This army carries India's National Flag, and its slogans are India's national slogans. This army has its own Indian officers and its own Officers' Training Schools, run entirely by Indians. And in the field of battle this army fights under its own Indian Commanders some of whom have now reached the rank of General. If one talks of a puppet army, then it is the British Indian Army that should be called a puppet army because it is fighting Britain's Imperialist War under British Officers.

Am I to believe that in an army of two and a half millions in which so many Indians are found fit to obtain the highest honour in the British Army namely the Victoria Cross—not one single Indian should be found fit to hold the rank of General? Comrades, I have just said that I am not ashamed to take up the help of Nippon. I shall go further and say that if the once almighty British Empire can go round the world with the begging bowl and can go down on its knees in order to obtain help from the United States of America there is no reason why we, an enslaved and disarmed nation, should not take help

from our friends To-day we may be taking the help of Nippon to-morrow we shall not hesitate to take help from any other quarter if that be possible and if that be desirable in the best interests of India

Nobody would be more happy than myself if we would achieve India's independence without foreign help of any sort. But I have yet to find one single instance in modern history where an enslaved nation has achieved its liberation without foreign help of some sort. And for enslaved India it is much more honourable to join hands with enemies of the British Empire than to carry on with British leaders or political parties. Our whole difficulty is that we do not hate our enemies enough and our leaders do not teach us to hate India's enemies though they teach to hate those whom they regard as the enemies of other nations. Is it not ridiculous for some of our leaders to talk of fighting Fascism abroad while shaking hands with Imperialism at home?

Comrades I would have never opened my mouth and said one word to you if I had been sitting as an armed-chair politician. But I and my comrades here are engaged in a grim struggle. Our comrades at the front have to play with death. Even those who are not at the front face danger every moment of their existence. When we were in Burma bombing and machine-gunning was our daily experience. I have seen many of my comrades killed, maimed and injured from enemy's ruthless bombing and machine-gunning. I have seen the entire hospital of the Azad Hind Fauj in Rangoon razed to the ground and our helpless patients suffering heavy casualties.

Why I and many others with me are still alive to-day is only through God's grace. It is because we are living, working and fighting in the presence of death that I have a right to speak to you and to advise you. Most of you do not know what carpet bombing is. Most of you do not know what it is to be machine-gunned by low flying bombers and fighters. Most of you have had no experience of bullets whistling past you to your right and to your left. Those who have gone through this experience and have nevertheless kept up their morale cannot even look at Lord Wavell's offer.

Comrades I shall now close for the day. But before I conclude I would remind you that a revolutionary is one who believes in the justice of his cause and who believes that that cause is bound to prevail in the long run. He who gets depressed over failures or setbacks is no revolutionary. The motto for a revolutionary is "Hope for the best but be prepared for the worst."

I am confident that if we fight on and if we play our cards well in the international field we shall win our freedom by the end of this war. But lost does not mean that if by any chance we fail to do so.

we should be disheartened or depressed. Consequently, if the worst happens and India does not emerge as an independent state by the end of this war, our next plan shall be a post-war revolution inside India. And if we fail in that too, then there will be World War Three to give us another opportunity to strike for our freedom.

I have no doubt that World War Three will break out within 10 years of the end of this war, if not earlier, in case all the suppressed nations of the world are not liberated during the course of the present war. India's independence is a settled fact. The only uncertain factor is the time factor. At the worst, it may take a few more years for India to be free. Why then should we be easily discouraged and rush to the Viceroy's House for a compromise? Your task as revolutionaries will be to keep the flag of Independence flying until such time as that flag proudly flies over the Viceroy's House in Delhi.



## RELIGION AND MYSTICISM

*Dilip Kumar Roy and Subhas were co-students in Presidency College Calcutta and later at Cambridge University. Dilip took to mysticism and music Subhas to politics and prison but their friendship deep and unshakable continued to the end. In the two letters given below Subhas touches on his views on religion and mysticism.*

My Dear Dilip

I do not know if I am sufficiently open to receive yogic power—probably not. Nevertheless I think that even those who rule out a supra-mental order have to admit the existence and efficacy of what is popularly styled as will power. And this power—call it by what name you will—is bound to act even if the receiver is not open or adequately and consciously receptive. I am grateful to Sri Aurobindo.

I have been studying a bit and thinking more at times I feel as if I am groping in the dark. But I cannot go wrong as long as I am sincere and earnest—even if my progress towards Truth be more zig zag than straight. After all life's march is not as straight as a straight line.

Has not each of us a sphere of work allotted to us taking work in the broadest sense? And is not sphere conditioned by our past karma, our present desires etc. and our environment? Nevertheless how difficult it is to understand or realise our proper sphere of work! This sphere of work is external aspect of our nature or dharma. It is so easy to say—live in accordance with your swadharma—but so difficult to know what one's dharma is. It is there that the help of a Guru becomes so necessary—and even indispensable.

With best love ever affectionately yours

SUBHAS

## II

My Dear Dilip,

During the months of January and February I was passing through a species of mental torture owing to repeated pinpricks of the Government, and till at the very last moment I was not at all sure that I would be able to leave for Europe for treatment. Owing to the vindictive policy of the Government it was not possible for me to meet my parents or my friends. Only a few near relatives were allowed to interview me in Jubbulpore Jail. Many friends came from distant places to Bombay to interview me but they had to return disappointed. The police officers who escorted me up to the boat surrounded me like a pack of hounds till the ship actually sailed from the harbour. These pinpricks, which continued till the moment of my sailing from Bombay, caused me intense pain.

In one of your letters you asked me about my attitude towards Shiva—or something to the effect. To be quite frank I am torn this side and that—between my love for Shiva, Kali and Krishna. Though they are fundamentally one—one does prefer one symbolism to another. I have found that my moods vary—and according to my prevalent mood, I choose one of the three forms—Shiva, Kali and Krishna. Of these three again, the struggle is between Shiva and Shakti. Shiva, the ideal Yogi, has a fascination for me, and Kali, the Mother also makes an appeal to me. You see, of late (i.e., for the last four or five years) I have become a believer in Mantia-Shakti by which I mean that certain Mantras have an inherent Shakti. Prior to that, I had the ordinary rationalistic view, namely that Mantias are like symbols and they are aids to concentration. But my study of Tantra philosophy gradually convinced me that certain Mantras had an inherent Shakti—and that each mental constitution was fitted for a particular Mantra. Since then, I have tried my best to find out what my mental constitution is like and which Mantra I would be suited for. But so far I have failed to find that out because my moods vary and I am sometimes a Shaiva, sometimes a Shakta and sometimes a Vaishnava. I think it is here that the Guru becomes useful—because the real Guru knows more about ourselves than we do—and he could at once tell us what Mantra we should take up and which method of worship we should follow.

With warmest love, I am, ever affectionately,

SUBHAS

## LASTING VALUES

*Would you really decline to traverse the shoals of pain and suffering if you knew there were richer liden of bliss waiting?" asks Subhas in this letter to Dillip written from Mandalay Central Jail. Sorrow and suffering should impel us to courage for a higher fulfilment"*

25 25

My Dear Dillip

I was delighted to receive your letter dated 24-3 25. It didn't have to reach me this time through a process of double distillation—to use your locution which makes me feel happier still.

Your letter touched such a tender chord in my heart that it is not easy for me to give an adequate reply by way of reciprocation. Besides all I write has to pass through the censor's hand which, too, acts as a damper. For none cares to see the deepest articulation of his heart published in the light of day open to the scrutiny of all and sundry so much of what I have been thinking and feeling today behind the stone walls and prison bars must remain unspoken for ever.

It is quite natural for a man of your susceptibilities to feel outraged that so many should be detained in jail on an unknown charge. But since accept it we must as a fact, we might as well look into the matter from a spiritual standpoint.

I cannot say that I would like to stay in jail for that would be unadulterated humbug. The whole atmosphere inside a jail tends if anything to pervert and dehumanize a human being and I believe this must be true of all jails more or less. I think the majority of convicts undergo a moral deterioration while in prison. After having been the guest of so many jails I must confess my eyes have been opened to the urgent need for a radical reform of prison life and in future I will feel obligated to help bring about such a reform. Indian jail regulations are a bad imitation of a bad model—the British even as the University of Calcutta is a bad imitation of London.

What is most urgently called for is a new outlook based on sympathy for the convict. His wrong impulses must be regarded as symptomatic

of a psychological derangement and remedies should be devised accordingly. The penalising mood which may well be assumed to be the inspiration of jail prescriptions has to give place to a new orientation guided by a flair for true reform.

I do not think I could have looked upon a convict with the authentic eye of sympathy had I not lived personally as a prisoner. And I have not the least doubt that the production of our artists and literateurs, generally, would stand to gain in ever so many ways, could they win to some new experience of the prison-life. We do not perhaps realise the magnitude of the debt owed by Kazi Nazrul Islam's verse to the living experience he had of jails.

When I pause to reflect calmly I feel the stirring of certitude within that some vast purpose is at work in the core of our fears and frustrations. Could only this faith preside over every moment of our conscious life wouldn't our suffering lose its poignancy and bring us face to face with the ideal bliss even in a dungeon? But that is not possible yet, generally speaking. That is why this duel must go on unrelentingly between the soul and the body.

Usually a kind of philosophic mood instils strength into our hearts in prison surroundings. In any event, I have taken my station there, and what little I have read of philosophy, superadded to my conception of life in general, has stood me rather in good stead here. If a man finds sufficient food for contemplation then his incarceration need hardly hurt him much unless of course his health desert him. But our suffering is not merely spiritual—there is the rub—the body too has a say in the business, so that even when the spirit was willing the flesh might be weak. Lokamanya Tilak wrote out his commentary on the Gita while in prison. I can say with certainty that he spent his days in mental happiness. But withal, his premature death was as certainly attributable to his six years' detention in Mandalay jail.

But the enforced solitude in which a detenu passes his days gives him an opportunity to think down into the ultimate problems of life. In any event I can claim this for myself that many of the most tangled questions which whirl like eddies in our individual and collective life are edging gradually to the estuary of a solution. The things I could only puzzle out feebly or the views I could offer tentatively in days gone by are crystalizing out more and more presentably from day to day. It is for this reason, if for no other, that I feel I will be spiritually a gainer through my imprisonment.

You have given my detention the name of martyrdom. This only testifies to the sympathy native to your character as also to your nobility of heart. But since I have some sense of humour and proportion—I hope so anyway—I can hardly arrogate to myself the martyr's high title. Against hauteur and conceit I want to be sleeplessly vigilant. How

far I have achieved this it is for my friends to judge. At all events martyrdom can only be an ideal so far as I am concerned.

I have felt that the greatest tragedy for a convict who has to spend long years in prison is that old age creeps upon him unawares. He should therefore, be specially on his guard. You cannot imagine how a fellow gets prematurely worn-out in body and mind while serving a long sentence. Doubtless a variety of causes are responsible for this lack of good food, exercise and life's amenities, segregation, a sense of cramped subordination, death of friends and last, though by no means the least, absence of music. There are some gaps which a man may fill from within but there are others which can be only filled from without. To be denied these is not a little responsible for ageing before one's time. In the Alipore Jail musical entertainments are provided every week for the European prisoners not so here, for the likes of us.

I should not omit to mention that to a detainee the goodwill and sympathy of his friends and relations and the general public can indeed be a source of sustenance. Although the influence of such imponderables is a subtle and subterranean one yet when I scan myself I realise how it is not a whit the less real for all that. There is here a difference between the hardness of lot of a political prisoner and a common convict. The former is sure of his welcome back into the fold of society. Not so the latter. To me such a state of affairs seems anything but satisfactory. Why shouldn't a civilised community feel for these unhappy men?

I could go on filling pages registering my thoughts and experiences of prison life. But after all a letter must come to a terminus some time. If I had a surplus of initiative left I might have written a whole book on Indian jails. But just at present I lack the strength adequate to such a task.

I am inclined to think that the suffering in jail life is less physical than mental. When the blows dealt, or insult and humiliation are not too brutal the torments of prison life do not become so hard to bear. But lest we forget too readily our outer material existence and conjure up an ideal world of bliss within they will deal us these blows to waken us to our bleak and joyless surroundings.

You write you are getting daily a sadder if not a wiser man to contemplate how our earth is soaked by tears of humanity from crust to centre. But then these tears are not all of pain and anguish there are drops of compassion and love as well. Would you really decline to traverse the shoals of pain and suffering if you knew there were richer tides of bliss waiting? So far as I am concerned I see little warrant for pessimism or despondency. On the contrary I feel sorrow and suffering should impel us to courage for a higher fulfilment. Do you think what you win without pain and struggle has any lasting value?

SUBHAS

## SADHANA AND SWADHARMA

*"Real service is only achieved when we dedicate what is the best in our composition. Not till our inner being, our swadharma, has fulfilled itself shall we have won through to our inalienable right, adhikar, to what I call real service." So says Subhas in this letter to Dilip. "One who was true to oneself could hardly be false to humanity. If each of us could fulfil himself following his native capacity and temperament, then a new sunrise would break out over the entire life of the nation."*

Mandalay Central Jail,  
9-10-25

My Dear Dilip,

Never think that my vision is narrow or parochial. I do indeed believe in the "greatest good of the greatest number." But that good I do not equate to the purely material. Economists say that all works are either productive or unproductive. But the question, which of these are really productive, gives rise to furious logomachies. I for one cannot look upon art and its kindred activities as unproductive, nor despise philosophic contemplation or spiritual quest as futile and pointless. I may not be an artist myself—to tell you the truth, I know I am not—but for that it isn't I who am responsible, it is Nature or God, if you will. Of course, if you say that I am reaping in this birth what I sowed in my last then I go to the wall. Leaving it at that, the real reason, in a nut-shell, why I did not shape into an artist is. I couldn't. But this does not mean, mind you, that a layman is debarred even from enjoying art. And the amount of training necessary to a proper appreciation of an art isn't, I think, hard to acquire for a cultivated person.

Do not sigh regretfully that you have been wasting your days on music when, to put it in Shakespeare's language, "the time is out of joint." Flood our whole countryside, my friend, with songs and recapture for life the spontaneous joy we have forfeited. He who has no music in his composition, whose heart is dead to music is unlikely to achieve anything big or great in life. Carlyle used to say that he who had no throb of music in his blood was capable of any misdeed. Whether this be true or not, I am persuaded that he who cannot respond to music can never scale heights of thought or action. We want that the experience of ananda—sheer causeless delight—should quicken every drop of

our blood because we only create in the fullness of ananda. And what is there that can outwell ananda like music?

But we must make the artistic and its kindred joys amenable to the poorest of the poor. High research in music will of necessity continue in small expert coteries, but simultaneously music must be dispensed as a spiritual pabulum of the masses. Just as the high ideals of art are stultified through lack of adequate research even so art must wilt when, sundered from the life-soil of the masses it is made inaccessible to all and sundry. I think art joins up with life through folk music and folk-dance. The Western civilization has hewed away this isthmus between the two continents of art and life without substituting anything in its place. Our jatra, kathakata, kirtan etc. survive today almost as relics of the past. One shudders to think of the poverty of life that must ensue if our artists and musicians fail to restore the connection between art and life. You may remember I told you once how fascinated I had been by the beauty of the gambhira music of Maldah. In it music is happily blended with dance. I do not know of any other province in Bengal where such a happy union has been effected. But in Maldah it is sure to die away soon unless first, new vitality be injected into it, and in the second place, people in other parts of Bengal come forward to take it up. You ought to visit the place once if only to give a fillip to the folk music of Bengal. I warn you though that Gambhira has little or no element of complexity or grandeur about it. Its salient features are spontaneity and simplicity. Our indigenous music and dance of the people still survive I think, in Maldah alone. So those who would revive such folk-art may as well start work from there.

From the point of view of folk music and folk-dance Burma is a marvellous country. Pure native dance and music is in full swing here and they cater for tens of thousands zigzagging deep into the heart of remote villages. After having mastered the different idioms of our Indian music you may as well study the Burmese. It may not be an evolved art, but its capacity of delighting the illiterate poor has somehow appealed to me. I am told that their dance too is very beautiful. Furthermore its art is not confined to select coteries, because I imagine there is no caste system in Burma. (As a result art here has infiltrated everywhere.) And probably also because folk music and folk-dance have always had a tremendous vogue in this country. So the common folk have won a deeper understanding of beauty than the Indian.

I echo all you write about Deshbandhu as also your remark that the innate nobility of a man shines better through little private incidents of his life than through his public activities or political achievements caught up in the lime-light. In fact I gave him my heart's deep adhesion and reverent love not so much because I happened to be his follower in the arena of politics as because I had come to know him rather intimately in his private life. He had no family properly speaking outside that of his colleagues and adherents. Once we lived together in jail

for eight months for two months in the ones I took refuge under his feet be through a close relationship

I subscribe to most of what you write to all He is a dhyanī (a contemplative) than Vivekananda, though I have a picture So I agree with you when you say that and on occasions for a long spell—remembrance in perfect seclusion But here the of a man might get atrophied if he remains the tides of life and society This need of authentic seekers of uncommon genius, ought, I think, to take to activity main plank of their sadhana For a very been sliding pauselessly down to the zero so what we badly need today is a double

the same cell, for six in adjacent cause I came to know him thus

write about Sri Aurobindo, if not) and, I feel, goes even deeper profound reverence for the latter one may from time to time—him withdrawn in silent contemplation there is a danger the active side chained cut off for too long from not indeed apply to a handful us, but the common run, the on in a spirit of service as the variety of reasons our nation has a line in the sphere of action, a dose of the activist serum,

say that each of us must strive Real service is only achieved our composition Not till our led itself, shall we have won to what I call real service To must be moulded from within tread the same path, though are us all The artist's sadhana more than the contemplative's though I think, in the last analysis, practical field of self-realisation One who was true to oneself nature of each must indicate that leads to his self-amelioration fulfil himself following his native sunrise would break out over possible that a man may have s sadhana, a life which looks But while he is passing ctates of his own conscience—shall not judge till the results tly, once you choose to tread ay well ignore public opinion with each other than you seem

I say ditto to you again when you to develop his powers to their fullness when we dedicate what is the best in inner being, our swadharma, has fulfilled through our inalienable right, adhikar, put it in the language of Emerson, we This does not mean that we all have to it is possible that the same ideal may inspire is not the same as the activist's, though sadhana is the same as the savant's, though the ideals of all are one But in the pe I wouldn't put a round peg in a square hole could hardly be false to humanity That the clue to the path that is his, the path of self and self-expansion If each of us could fulfil capacity and temperament, then a new the entire life of the nation It is indeed s sadhana, a life which looks to lead, during a particular phase of historicism But while he is passing on the surface like selfishness or ego-centrism ctates of his own conscience—through that phase he must follow the discipline shall not judge till the results not those of public opinion The public tly, once you choose to tread of the sadhana are published Consequently well ignore public opinion the true path of self-unfoldment you may with each other than you seem So you see we are much less at variance to think

Yours ever affectionately,

SUBHAS



## "I AM DESOLATE WITH BEREAVEMENT"

*Against the background of the sad news regarding the death of Deshbandhu Das Subhas expounds in this letter his ideas regarding pain and suffering*

My Dear Dillip

You can imagine what dominates my thought today. I believe there is but one thought in all minds now—the death of our great Deshbandhu. When I first read the news in print I could hardly credit my eyes. But alas the report is cruelly true.

The thoughts that are running riot in my mind today must remain unvoiced although sometimes I feel like publishing them if only to get some reprieve. But they are too sacred and precious to be shared with strangers—the Censor is worse than a stranger. So I will only say that if for the country the loss is irreparable for the youth of Bengal it is cataclysmic, appalling.

I am desolate with a sense of bereavement. For I feel so vividly near to the great departed in the world of memory that it is impossible for me just now to write something about him analysing his great qualities. I hope when the time comes I will be able to give the world some idea of the glimpses I had of him in his unguarded moments as I watched him at close range. There must be a good many like me who though they know a great deal about him do not feel equal to writing about it all lest through vocal praise they diminish the stature of his outstanding nobility.

When you say roundly that the last residue of pain and sorrow is not suffering I am at one with you. There are certain tragedies in life—like the one mentioned just now—which I cannot acclaim. Being neither a sage nor a humbug I cannot declare that all kinds of affliction are acceptable to me. At the same time it has often made me pause to think that there are a few unfortunates (they may indeed be fortunate for all we know!) who seem to be born as targets for slings of Fate of every description. But leaving aside this question of degree I may say that if some must drain to the dregs the cup of sorrow it were

better if they drank the potion in a spirit of self-surrender For even if we admit that such a spirit may not withstand, like a Chinese wall, the assaults of destiny, it must, for all that, greatly heighten our natural powers of fortitude When Russel says there are tragedies which men would be spared if they could, he only speaks for the typical worldling For I believe that a stainless saint—or his polar opposite, the mountebank—will disown such a statement

But I wonder if you are right in holding that those who are neither philosophic nor thoughtful meet in pain nothing but pain. For even the unphilosophic (I call them so from the abstract point of view) may have an idealism of their own which they will cherish and love as a thing to be worshipped When these are up against pain and sorrow they derive their courage and hope from their source of adoration Among those who are with me, bearing up against the suffering of jail-life, there are some who are neither thoughtful nor philosophic, and yet they affront pain calmly, even like heroes These may not be philosophic in the common acceptation of the term, but you can hardly class them as aliens to the world of ideas Probably this applies more or less to all activities by temperament, the world over

My eyes have opened not a little through a study of the criminal psychology When I was jailed in 1922, a convict used to work in our yard as a servant At that time I used to live in the same room with Deshbandhu His heart of tenderness went all out to the fellow, albeit he was an old hand, having had already eight previous convictions to his credit None the less, he felt unconsciously drawn towards Deshbandhu till he became exceedingly attached to his master When Deshbandhu was released he asked his devotee to go straight to his house at the expiry of his term shunning even the shadow of his old comrades in crime The poor wretch acquiesced and, subsequently, was as good as his word You will be surprised to learn that the man, who had been a felon all his life, has been living in our great leader's house ever since, and though he does sometimes revert to his tantrums, yet roundly he is today a different man, altogether living a harmless enough life with the rest I have no doubt that he is among those on whom the blow of this bereavement has fallen at its heaviest Some say the greatness of a man were best judged through his little acts, little things On this criterion too Deshbandhu must be adjudged a great soul even if you reckoned without his great service to the country

Ever affectionately yours,

SUBHAS

## SECURITY VERSUS SUFFERING

*Sudhas secured the fourth rank in the Indian Civil Service examination in 1910. Even before appearing for the examination he had made up his mind not to be a member of the British bureaucracy in India but to devote his entire life for achieving the freedom of the nation. As soon as the results were out therefore he wrote to his brother Sarat disclosing his decision. Below are given extracts from four of his letters to Sarat. Is service to be the be-all and end-all of my life? The Civil Service can bring me all kinds of worldly comfort but are not the acquisitions made at the expense of one's soul? I think it is hypocritical to maintain that the highest ideals of one's life are compatible with subordination to the conditions of service which an I.C.S. man has got to accept says Sudhas in his first letter to Sarat. Sudhas was the only instance in the entire history of the Indian Civil Service of a successful student refusing even to join the Service for the sake of joining the nation's freedom struggle.*

*Sudhas wrote the following letter to Sarat on September 22, 1920*

**I** WAS SO GLAD to receive the telegram conveying congratulations. I don't know whether I have gained anything really substantial by passing the I.C.S. Examination—but it is a great pleasure to think that the news has pleased so many and especially that it has delighted father and mother in these dark days.

I am here as a paying guest of Mr. B's family. Mrs. B represents English character at its very best. Mr. B counts among his friends Russians, Irishmen, Poles, Lithuanians, and members of other nationalities. He takes a great interest in Russian, Irish and Indian literature and admires the writings of Romesh Dutt and Tagore.

I have been getting heaps of congratulations on my standing fourth in the competitive examination. But I cannot say that I am delighted at the prospect of entering the ranks of the I.C.S. If I have to join this service I shall do so with as much reluctance as I started my study for the C.S. Examination with. A nice fat income with a good pension in after life—I shall surely get. Perhaps I may become a Commissioner. If I stoop to make myself servile enough. Given talents with a servile spirit one may even aspire to be the Chief Secretary to a provincial

government But after all is Service to be the be-all and end-all of my life? The Civil Service can bring one all kinds of worldly comfort, but are not these acquisitions made at the expense of one's soul? I think it is hypocrisy to maintain that the highest ideals of one's life are compatible with subordination to the conditions of service which an I C S man has got to accept

You will readily understand my mental condition as I stand on the threshold of what the man-in-the-street would call a promising career There is much to be said in favour of such a service It solves once for all what is the paramount problem for each of us—the problem of bread and butter One has not to face life with risk or any uncertainty as to success or failure But for a man of my temperament who has been feeding on ideas which might be called eccentric—the line of least resistance is not the best line to follow Life loses half its interest if there is no struggle—if there are no risks to be taken The uncertainties of life are not appalling to one who has got, at heart, worldly ambitions Moreover, it is not possible to serve one's country in the best and fullest manner if one is chained to the Civil Service In short, national and spiritual aspirations are not compatible with obedience to Civil Service conditions

I realise that it is needless to talk in this fashion as my will is not my own Though I am sure that the Civil Service has no glamour for you, father is sure to be hostile to the idea of my not joining He would like to see me settled down in life as soon as possible Hence, I find that, owing to sentimental and economic reasons, my will can hardly be called my own But I may say without hesitation that if I were given the option—I would be the last man to join the Indian Civil Service

You may rightly say that, instead of avoiding the service, one should enter its ranks and fight its evils But even if I do so, my position any day may become so intolerable as to compel me to resign If such a crisis takes place 5 to 10 years hence, I shall not be in a favourable position to chalk out a new line for myself—whereas today there is yet time for me to qualify for another career

If one is cynical enough one may say that all this 'spirit' will evaporate as soon as I am safe in the arms of the service But I am determined not to submit to that sickening influence I am not going to marry—hence considerations of worldly prudence will not deter me from taking a particular line of action if I believe that to be intrinsically right

Constituted as I am, I have sincere doubts as to whether I should be a fit man for the Civil Service, and I rather think that what little capacity I possess can be better utilised in other directions for my own welfare as well as for the welfare of my country.

I should like to know your opinion about this I have not written to father on this point—I really don't know why I wish I could get his opinion too

## II

The following are extracts from Subhas' letter to Sarat Bose dated January 26, 1921

**Y**OU MAY SAY that instead of shunning this wicked system we should enter it and fight with it till the last. But such a fight one has got to carry on single-handed in spite of censure from above transfer to unhealthy places and stoppage of promotion. The amount of good that one can do while in the service is infinitesimal when compared with what one can do when outside it. Mr R. C. Dutt no doubt did a lot of work in spite of his service, but I am sure he could have done much more work if he had not been a member of the bureaucracy. Besides the question here involved is one of principle. On principle I cannot accept the idea of being a part of the machinery which has outlived the days of its usefulness, and stands at present for all that is connected with conservatism selfish power heartlessness and red tapism.

I am now at the cross ways and no compromise is possible. I must either chuck this rotten service and dedicate myself whole-heartedly to the country's cause—or I must bid adieu to all my ideals and aspirations and enter the service. I am sure many of our relatives will howl when they hear of such a rash and dangerous proposal. But I do not care for their opinions their cheers or their taunts. But I have faith in your idealism and that is why I am appealing to you.

I am writing to father separately this time and am appealing to him to give his consent. I hope that if you agree with my point of view you will try to persuade father to that effect. I am sure your opinion will carry great weight.

## III

The extracts below are from Subhas' letter to Sarat dated February 23 1921

**E**VER SINCE the result of the I.C.S. was declared I have been asking myself whether I shall be more useful to my country if I am in the service than if I am not. I am fully convinced now that I shall be able to serve my country better if I am one of the people than if I am a member of the bureaucracy. I do not deny that one can do some amount of good when he is in the service but it can't be compared with the amount of good that one can do when his hands are not tied by bureaucratic chains. Besides, as I have already mentioned in one of my letters the question involved is mainly one of principle. The principle of serving an alien bureaucracy is one to which I cannot re

concile myself Besides the first step towards equipping oneself for public service is to sacrifice all worldly interests—to burn one's boats as it were—and devote oneself wholeheartedly to the national cause The illustrious example of Aurobindo Ghosh looms large before my vision I feel that I am ready to make the sacrifice which that example demands of me My circumstances are also favourable ”

## IV

The last letter was written on the 6th April. By then Subhas had received his father's letter disapproving of his plans, but he had definitely made up his mind to resign. The following extracts are from Subhas letter to Sarat :—

**F**ATHER THINKS that the life of a self-respecting Indian Civil Servant will not be intolerable under the new regime, and that Home Rule will come to us within ten years But to me the question is not whether my life will be tolerable under the new regime In fact, I believe that, even if I am in the service, I can do some useful work The main question involved is one of principle Should we under the present circumstances owe allegiance to a foreign bureaucracy and sell ourselves for a mess of pottage? Those who are already in the service or who cannot help accepting service may do so But should I, being favourably situated in many respects, own allegiance so readily? The day I sign the covenant I shall cease to be a free man

I believe we shall get Home Rule within ten years and certainly earlier if we are ready to pay the price The price consists of sacrifice and suffering Only on the soil of sacrifice and suffering can we raise our national edifice If we all stick to our jobs and look after our own interests, I don't think we shall get Home Rule even in 50 years Each family—if not each individual—should now bring forward its offering to the feet of the mother Father wants to save me from this sacrifice I am not so callous as not to appreciate the love and affection which impels him to save me from this sacrifice, in my own interests He is naturally apprehensive that I am perhaps hasty in my judgment or overzealous in my youthful enthusiasm But I am perfectly convinced that the sacrifice has got to be made—by somebody at least

In spite of all the agitation going on there, it still remains true that not a single Civil Servant has had the courage to throw away his job and join the people's movement This challenge has been thrown at India and has not been answered yet I may go further and say that in the whole history of British India, not one Indian has voluntarily given up the Civil Service with a patriotic motive It is time that members of the highest service in India should set an example to members of the other services If the members of the services withdraw their allegiance or even show a desire to do so—then only will the bureaucratic machine collapse

I therefore do not see how I can save myself from this sacrifice I know what this sacrifice means. It means poverty suffering hard work, and possibly other hardships to which I need not expressly refer but which you can very well understand. But the sacrifice has got to be made—consciously and deliberately. Your proposal that I should resign on return is eminently reasonable—but there are one or two points to be urged against it. In the first place it will be a galling thing for me to sign the covenant which is an emblem of servitude. In the second place if I accept service for the present I shall not be able to return home before December or January as the usual custom stands. If I resign now I may return by July. In six months time much water will have flowed through the Ganges. In the absence of adequate response at the right moment, the whole movement might tend to flag and if response comes too late it may not have any effect. I believe it will take time to initiate another such movement, and hence I think that the tide in the present movement must be availed of. If I have to resign it does not make any difference to me or to any one of us whether I resign tomorrow or after a year but delay in resigning may on the other hand have some untoward effect on the movement. I know full well that I can do but little to help the movement—but it will be a great thing if I have the satisfaction of having done my bit. If for any reason I happen to change my decision regarding resignation I shall send a cable to father as that will relieve his anxiety.

# THE LION ROARS FROM CAPTIVITY

*Subhas was detained without trial in the Mandalay Central Jail under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act in 1925. He was then a member of the Bengal Legislative Council and wrote to the President of the Council calling upon him to assert his right to get him (Subhas) released or adjourn the Council sine die. In the letter dated 18th January 1927, he recalls the many historic battles that the Speakers of the House of Commons successfully fought against the invasion of the right of the members to attend Parliament and how these Speakers brushed aside any judicial or executive action that interfered with that right. The letter deserves a close study at the hands of all members of State and Central Legislatures, politicians and journalists. It is a letter of great value as long as democracy lasts. He was released on May 16, 1927.*

**I** HAVE THE HONOUR to address the following lines to you, not because I acknowledge the meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council held on the 11th January, 1927 to be a valid one, but because I can address the members of that Council only through one who claims to be its President

2 I have been elected a member of the Bengal Legislative Council from the Calcutta North Non-Mohamedan constituency, but I have not been allowed to attend the meeting of that body. I am at present detained in the Mandalay Central Jail under Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1925. I have not been convicted by any court of law, neither has any charge been yet preferred against me by any court of law. I therefore possess the constitutional right as the duly elected representative of the electors of Non-Mohamedan North Calcutta Constituency to attend the meetings of the Bengal Legislative Council.

3 I confess, I am unable to understand how the Bengal Legislative Council could meet and transact business on the 10th and 11th January 1927, when one constituency (viz, the Calcutta North Non-Mohamedan) was unrepresented owing to the detention in custody of its lawful representative. The number of members of the Bengal Legislative Council is fixed by statute and sub-section (2) of section 72-A of the Government of India Act, 1919, expressly states that "the member or members of the Governor's Legislative Councils shall be in



accordance with the table set out in the first Schedule of this Act, etc." I venture to think that this provision of the Government of India Act cannot be strictly and honestly observed if the executive officers of the Bengal Government forcibly prevent a lawful representative from attending the Legislative Council by detaining him in custody. It is clear that the effect of such forcible prevention is to nullify the real purpose and intention of the statute as quoted above.

4. I maintain further that, as contended by Lord Shelburne Sir George Saville and other distinguished authorities on constitutional law in the British House of Commons and House of Lords on the occasion of the election of John Wilkes M P by the Middlesex constituency in 1768 the forcible prevention of a single lawful representative from attending the meeting of a legislature invalidates the proceedings of that body.

5. You are aware, Sir, of the privileges enjoyed by members of the House of Commons. One of the most important privileges is that of immunity from arrest, detention and molestation during a session and for forty days before the beginning and after the close of a session of the House of Commons.

6. The members of the legislatures of the dominions throughout the British Empire are also entitled to privileges practically identical with those of members of the House of Commons. As the Government of India Act 1919 is to be interpreted in the light and in keeping with the spirit of the British constitution it stands to reason that members of the legislatures in British India should also be entitled to those privileges, whether there be any specific mention to that effect in the Government of India Act or not.

7. You are aware, Sir, of the long and bitter fight that was waged in British history between the Crown and members of Parliament over the question of parliamentary privileges and that in several crises the Speakers of the House of Commons took a leading part at considerable risk to themselves and in some cases at considerable sacrifice. Again and again has the issue been raised and fought, e.g. in Thomas Tripe's case in 1453 in George Ferrys in 1493 in Sir Thomas Shirby's case in 1603 in Sir John Elliot's and Sir Dudley Digges' cases in 1626 and in John Wilkes' cases in 1763. By refusing to vote supplies in some cases and in others by refusing to function at all till the imprisoned members were released from custody Parliament was able to compel the Crown to recognise the privilege of immunity from arrest, detention and molestation during a session and for forty days before and after it. Today not only are the privileges of members their ancient and undoubted rights held as sacred and inviolable but outsiders encroaching on these privileges are also liable to be punished by the House of Commons.

too have been able to secure but they have been conceded any struggle. It is for the story of Britain will be re- of Parliament in this country the Dominions. In any case up is that if the Government of the British Constitution, view of the present privileged Government who have prevented order of His Excellency the custody during this period, of the Bengal Legislative

der the British constitution tention and molestation does any or breach of the peace been convicted by a court of against me by a court of onstitution of Great Britain been convicted of any of the privileges

specific mention of the pri- on and molestation in the uch privilege has been con- in reply that the privileges te. They existed prior to were from the very begin- ent and undoubted rights", ns, were respected by the lish Common Law and the in British India when there general principles and the vern the interpretation and act, when there is nothing argument for the applicabi- rther strengthened by the my constituency fell within Judicature at Fort William t the attitude of the Bengal hat course the executive

t, because I was arrested i tive Council and my con- re considering the claims

of a detenu, there is no force in any demand for release during the present privileged period. But I may urge in reply that no matter when I was first arrested the moment I became a member of the Legislative Council the rights and privileges of members accrued to me. Consequently with the commencement of the privileged period, the privilege of immunity from arrest, detention and molestation has automatically vested in me. It would not be out of place to mention here that Sir Thomas Shirley was arrested in 1603 before Parliament met nevertheless he had to be released by the Crown otherwise the House of Commons would not proceed to business. Further it was perfectly legitimate and justifiable for my electors to expect that after my election I would be released when a session of the legislature drew near by virtue of a parliamentary privilege, and that, thereafter I could be able to take part in the proceedings of the Council. If that legitimate expectation has not been fulfilled the fault certainly does not lie with my electors

12. You will easily understand Sir that my forcible detention in custody during session of the Bengal Legislative Council has raised a very important constitutional question. In all modern constitutions the independence of the legislature has been specially safeguarded, and freedom of the legislator from the domination of the executive has been regarded as one of the cardinal requirements of democracy. If the executive can of their own free will lock up members of the legislature during a session of that body they can control the entire course of legislation in the country. For the executive to usurp judicial or quasi-judicial functions by ordering the imprisonment without trial of citizens of the State for an indefinite period is bad enough. But when arrested persons who happen to be members of the legislature are not even permitted to take part in the deliberations of those bodies the situation becomes intolerable. In these circumstances can any reasonable man resist the conclusion that the real object of the executive is also to strike a blow at the Opposition Party in the legislature? And Sir what is there to prevent the executive from detaining in custody a larger number of members of the Opposition Party in order that it may be possible to have unpopular legislation passed by a rump legislature? There is no doubt that if legislation comes under the thumb of the executive whatever responsibility there is in the Transferred Departments will disappear. My present detention therefore raises not only the question of parliamentary privileges but the more important and fundamental question of the independence of the legislature. If the present anomalous position be not immediately righted a most obnoxious precedent will be set up which will be a standing menace to the constitutional liberties of the people

13. Even if it be assumed for the sake of argument that under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1925 or Bengal Regulation

III of 1818, the executive have the legal right to arrest and detain whomsoever they please, it does not follow that they are empowered forcibly to detain a member of the Legislative Council during a session of that body. Only by an act of resolution of the legislature can the privileges of members be forfeited. In the case of Thomas Thorne, M.P., who was detained in custody during session of the House of Commons in 1453 during the reign of Henry III, the judges to whom the matter was referred, held that the courts of law could not measure the privileges of Parliament, those being matters which could only be determined by Parliament itself. If this verdict of the judges is right, much more is it true that the privileges of members of the legislature cannot be determined by the executive officers of the Crown.

14 The illegality of my present detention will also be apparent from the fact that while the summons calling upon me to attend the Council was issued by order of His Excellency, the warrant under which I have been detained here was issued by a civil servant subordinate to His Excellency. I am sure that it will be admitted on all hands that when orders emanating from the members of the Government conflict with another, that of the superior officer should prevail. Further, the summons of His Excellency being much later order, that warrant should supercede it in law, and should, therefore, have been complied with. It is thus clear that when the above summons was issued, I should have been released forthwith in order to enable me to act in obedience to it.

15 One of the results of my continued detention is to prevent me from taking the Oath of Allegiance to the Crown. Rule 25 of the Bengal Electoral Rules states that if a member does not take Oath of Allegiance within a reasonable time, his seat will be liable to be declared vacant, and this rule is certainly applicable in my case. The pathos of the situation will be evident when it is remembered that Government are themselves responsible for preventing me from taking the Oath of Allegiance.

16 You are aware, Sir, that when in 1453 Thomas Thorne, M.P. was arrested and imprisoned during a session of the House of Commons and Parliament, by taking a bold stand, not only effected his release, but also penalised the officer of the Crown responsible for his arrest and detention, the then king of England Henry VII, commended the action of Parliament and in honourable words declared, "We at no time stand so high in our estate royal, as in the time of Parliament, wherein we as head and you as members are conjoined and knit together into one body politic so as whatsoever offence or injury during that time is offered to the meanest member of the House, is to be judged as done against one person, and the whole court of Parliament, which prerogative of the court is so great that (as our learned counsel informeth us) as all acts and processes coming out of any other inferior

court must for the time cease and give place to the highest. And thereupon Sir Edward Montagu, Lord Chief Justice, very gravely told his opinion confirming by diverse reasons all that the King has said, which was resented into by all the residue none speaking to the contrary. I have no doubt that if the Bengal Legislative Council do their duty in the present constitutional crisis they will have a similar encomium from the head of the Government in our province.

17 I am inclined to think that the fact that the Government of India Act requires the President of the Bengal Legislative Council to be elected shows that the independence of the legislatures has been contemplated in the Government of India Act.

18 I feel very strongly that it is for the Bengal Legislative Council and for no other individual or body to declare whether I am for political reasons to be debarred from taking part in the deliberation of that body. It is open to the house to take disciplinary action against me if they feel so inclined. I would welcome an expulsion by the Bengal Legislative Council as in the case of John Wilkes M P in 1769 rather than be prevented from attending the Council by an arbitrary order of the executive provided the privileges of the legislature are once for all recognised by the Government.

19 It is not for me to say what steps the Bengal Legislative Council should take in order to resist this invasion of its rights and privileges but I have not a shadow of doubt that it is within the power of the House to take steps which will compel the Government to give due recognition to the rights and privileges of members. It is for the members to decide whether following the glorious example of the House of Commons they should refuse to vote any supplies or refuse to do any business at all. And it is for you, Sir, to decide whether in this emergency failing any other remedy you should bring pressure to bear on the Government by adjourning the House again and again till the wrong is righted and due amends are made.

20 I would like to suggest that if the privileges of the members are not recognised by Government forthwith it is possible to secure them by legislation. Such legislation is possible in India and there is nothing in the Government of India Act to prevent or prohibit it. You are aware Sir that in Cape Colony and Newfoundland the constitution contains no hint of these privileges but they have nevertheless been declared there by ordinary legislation. Further it is a well known fact that in the province of Canada the legislatures of Ontario, Quebec, British Columbia, Manitoba, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Alberta and Saskatchewan have at various periods passed Acts conferring parliamentary privileges on themselves, though the constitution of these provinces contains no mention of parliamentary privileges. The validity of such legislation has been finally recognised

by the Judicial Committee of the British Privy Council in the celebrated case of Fielding versus Thomas in 1896

21 In conclusion, I hope that members of the Bengal Legislative Council will realise the gravity of the issue, its bearing and consequences, and adopt all possible measures within their power to vindicate their rights and privileges. And I hope that you, Sir, following the inspiring example of so many illustrious Speakers of the House of Commons, will take the lead in what I consider to be an episode in the great fight for constitutional freedom. If the members under your guidance rise to the height of the occasion, their names will be handed down to posterity as heroes in a holy fight.

## WE WRESTLE AGAINST RULE OF DARKNESS

*Subhas wrote the following letter to his brother Sarat from Mandalay Jail on May 8 1927 when Government offered to release him on condition that he went to Europe for treatment. He was seriously ill at the time but his spirit was as defiant as ever. My conception of values is different from that of the market place and I do not think that success or failure in life should be determined by material criterion. Our fight is not a physical one and it is not for material object either" he declares. "I am not a shopkeeper and I do not bargain," he proclaims at another place in the letter*

I DO not feel upto writing a long letter and I must wait till I can summon sufficient energy for the purpose. I had a long heart-to-heart talk with Bardada (eldest brother) about the Government offer and he must have acquainted you all with my views. I appreciated the opportunity given to me of having a private interview and the Honble the Home Member has my profound thanks for the courtesy shown. It is a welcome departure from the sort of treatment hitherto meted out to me. The reply from the Bengal Government which Bardada communicated to me on the 27th April (the day before he left) has made the issue clearer for both parties. Taking stock of the present position I have to say that I affirm the attitude I took up in my reply of the 11th April to the Government offer. My decision follows directly from my general outlook on life, and thinking only serves to confirm it.

The longer I live in Jail the stronger does the conviction grow within me that the struggles in this world are at the bottom conflict of ideas conflict between false and true ideas or as some would like to say between different degrees of truth. Ideas are the stuff of which human movements are made, and they are not static but dynamic and militant. They are as dynamic as the absolute ideas of Hegel the blind will of Hartmann and Schopenhauer the clan vital of Henri Bergson. Ideas will work out their own destiny and we who are but clod of clay encasing sparks of the divine fire have only got to consecrate ourselves to these ideas. A life so consecrated is bound to fulfil itself regardless of the vicissitudes of our material and bodily existence. My faith in the ultimate triumph of the idea for which I stand is unflinching, and

I am not, therefore, troubled by thoughts about my health and future prospect.

I have stated my point of view clearly and unambiguously in my letter to the Government, and no sophistry is possible thereafter. I am sorry that some critics should be so unkind as to say that I am bargaining for better terms. I am not a shopkeeper and I do not bargain. The slippery path of diplomacy I abhor, as unsuited to my constitution. I have taken my stand on a principle and there the matter rests. I do not attach so much importance to my bodily life that I should strive to save it by a process of haggling. My conception of values are somewhat different from that of the market place, and I do not think that success or failure in life should be determined by physical or material criteria. Our fight is not a physical one, and it is not for a material object either. As St Paul said "We wrestle not against flesh and blood but against principalities, against powers, against the rule of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places." Our cause, the cause of freedom and truth, as sure as day follows night, will ultimately prevail. Our bodies may fail and perish, but, with faith undiminished and will unconquerable, triumph will be ours. It is, however, for Providence to ordain who of us should live to witness the consummation of all our efforts and labours, and as for myself, I am content to live my life and leave the rest to destiny.

One word more before I close. It is not possible for me at this stage to decide whether I should go to Switzerland. I am at present physically incapable of undertaking a journey to Switzerland, and I need preliminary treatment at some health resort in India. How long it will be before I am declared fit to travel abroad, following a course of preliminary treatment I do not know. One thing is certain. Until I am very much better, a journey to Switzerland is, from the medical point of view, out of question. Further, if I improve remarkably well while I am at a health resort in India, it may not be necessary at all to go abroad except for the purpose of voluntary exilment. Then there is the financial question. I shall have to consult my purse which is none too full. I shall also have to consult the members of our family, particularly our parents, before I can decide to leave my home and country for an indefinite period. The political situation in India may change during the next few months and the Bengal Government may of their own accord feel inclined to alter their angle of vision.

All these factors have to be weighed carefully before I can finally make up my mind. Above all, I would like to feel myself a free agent before I make my choice, and I would prefer not to be stampeded into signing my warrant of exile. If the question of my compulsory residence in Switzerland is regarded by the Government as a *sine qua non*, you need have no hesitation in breaking off all negotiations. God is



great and certainly greater than His own handiwork, man and while we trust in Him we shall not come to grief I am pained to realise what anxiety and worry I have been causing in too many loving and sympathetic hearts, but I console myself by thinking that those who believe in a common motherland (I shall not say Fatherland) have common heritage and have to share their joys and sorrows

## UNJUST, ILLEGAL, VINDICTIVE

*Subhas was detained in the Presidency Jail, Calcutta, under the Defence of India Rules, in July 1940. On October 30, 1940, he wrote to the Home Minister, Government of Bengal, demanding his right to attend the Indian Legislative Assembly of which he was a member. He denounced the Defence of India Rules as unconstitutional and his detention vindictive.*

**I** HAVE BEEN in jail for about four months under a section of the D I Rules which does not necessitate a trial by a court of law. Over and above that, I have been an under-trial prisoner for the last two months. Detention without trial under one section and prosecution under another section of the above Rules—constitute a combination of executive fiat and judicial procedure which is not only unprecedented, but is manifestly illegal and unjust.

2 Further, when bail applications were made before the trying Magistrates, the public prosecutor opposed them, presumably under instructions from the Local Government, with the result that the applications were not granted. This is an evidence of undue Government interference in the course of judicial proceedings. This interference is all the more objectionable because the Local Government are not giving effect to the instructions issued by the Government of India with regard to cases under the D I Rules.

3 It is unfair, unjust and illegal to forcibly detain me in prison in this manner when I am being prosecuted. Once I have been produced before a court on the charge of offending against the D I Rules, the law should be allowed to take its own course. How can I again be imprisoned without trial under the same D I Rules?

4 It is surprising and painful that all this is happening under the aegis of a "popular" ministry. I have been watching how the same ministry has been behaving in the case of citizens professing the Islamic faith—particularly when they happen to be members of the Muslim League. It is not necessary to furnish Government with numerous relevant instances, culminating in the sudden release of the Maulvi

of Marapura in Dacca district. Every single instance of this sort has been duly noted by me

5 In view of these and numerous other considerations Government should release me forthwith. My selection to the Indian Legislative Assembly also demands that I should be permitted to attend its sittings which commence on 5th November—of course health permitting. If the Burma Government could allow a convicted prisoner to attend the Assembly sittings—should not the 'popular' ministry of Bengal allow the same facilities to one who is not a convicted prisoner?

6 Last but not least, my continued detention in the present state of my health is nothing short of a vindictive policy on the part of Government which is altogether inexplicable to me

This letter is written in all seriousness and I pray that it be given the consideration that it deserves

# I DEMAND RELEASE

*Subhas sent the following letter to the Superintendent of Presidency Jail Calcutta, on 30th October 1940. He was detained there under Defence of India Rules without trial*

**I** HAVE ADDRESSED the Hon'ble the Home Minister today on the question of my continued detention in Jail. I desire that along with that letter, Government should be informed of the consequences, for me, of their refusal to withdraw the order of detention. I am, therefore, writing this to you with the request that you may kindly bring the contents to the notice of Government as confidentially as possible. I am sending it to your office under closed cover, so that nobody else may see it. This letter is not a threat and I hope it will not be treated as such. It is meant to be a frank communication regarding certain developments which may soon become unavoidable for me.

I do not expect that Government will be moved by the consideration mentioned or implied in my letter to the Hon'ble the Home Minister. I have, therefore, been pondering for the last two months over the course of action that I should adopt. There is no other alternative for me but to register a moral protest to undertake a voluntary fast. This fast will have no effect on the "popular" minister, because I am neither the Maulvi of Murapura (Dacca) nor even a Mohamedan by faith. Consequently, the fast will in my case become a fast unto death. I know that even that will not move this Government and I have no illusions on this point. The "popular" ministry like other bureaucratic Governments will raise the question of official prestige and the familiar argument will be trotted out that Government cannot be coerced by a fast. I was in England when Terence MacSwiney, as Lord Mayor of Cork, was on hunger-strike on a similar issue. The whole country was moved—all the political parties in Parliament and H. M. the King also were visibly affected, but Lloyd George's Government was adamant. As a consequence, the King had to declare publicly that because of the Cabinet's attitude, he could not exercise the Royal Prerogative. I am recounting all this just to convince you and the Government that I have examined the whole situation in the cold light of common sense and logic and that I have not been thinking light-heartedly.

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Thus while I do not expect any tangible result to follow from the fast, I shall have the satisfaction of recording a moral protest against iniquitous action of Government. Britishers and the British Government have been talking of upholding the sacred principles of freedom and democracy but their policy nearer home belies these professions. They want outside assistance to destroy Nazism—but they have been indulging in Super Nazism. My protest will serve to expose the hypocrisy underlying their policy in this unfortunate country as also the policy of a Provincial Government that calls itself 'popular' but which in reality can be moved only when there is a Mohamedan in the picture. Incidentally I shall have the further satisfaction that my fast and its sequel shall have repercussions outside India, for I happen to be one of the Indians known outside the frontiers of this country.

The only other point to consider is as to whether the remedy suggested is not worse than the disease and I have taken long days and nights to ponder over it. My answer to the question is that life under existing conditions is hardly worth living. In this mortal world, every thing perishes except principles. These principles can live only when individuals do not hesitate to die for them. When individuals perish for a sacred principle that principle does not die—but incarnates itself in other individuals. And it is through vicarious suffering alone that a cause can flourish and prosper. Just as flesh begets flesh—so also does spirit beget kindred spirits. Consequently if I have anything in me neither my country nor humanity will lose as a result of my death. On the contrary God willing they may be elevated to higher moral plane for after all the highest sacrifice that one can make is the voluntary sacrifice of one's life without taking the life of another.

One word more before I finish. I have been in jail for long periods and have also been on hunger-strike before. I know all the steps that over zealous officials sometimes take in order to frustrate the object of hunger-strike. Naturally I shall be prepared for them in advance. Moreover I shall not permit forced feeding. Nobody has any moral right to feed me by force. This point was thrashed out with the British cabinet in the case of Terence MacSwiney and at a later period with the Government of India during our hunger strike of 1926. Any circulars or Jail Code provisions which may have come into existence since then will have no binding effect on me.

I repeat that this letter written on the sacred day of Kall Purni should not be treated as a threat or ultimatum. It is merely an affirmation of one's faith written in all humility. Hence it should be handled as a confidential document to be so communicated to Government confidentially. I only desire that the Government should know how my mind has been working so that they may appreciate my motives as well as the consequences for me of their decision.

Thanking you for your uniform courtesy

## DEFENCE OF INJUSTICE

*Subhas addressed his second letter to the Superintendent of the Presidency Jail Calcutta, on November 14, 1940 reiterating his decision to start a fast unto death from the Kali Pujan day*

I HOPE YOU have duly forwarded to Government the confidential letter I wrote to you on the 30th October last—the day of Kali Pujan. This is in continuation of that letter and both the letters are to be read in conjunction with my letter to the Hon. the Home Minister on the same date, viz., 30th October.

2 Since I wrote to you, the Government of India have made it clear in connection with the adjournment motion tabled by Pandit L. K. Maitra, M. L. A. (Central) before the Indian Legislative Assembly that the responsibility for my arrest and imprisonment rests exclusively with the Government of Bengal which is claimed by its supporters to be controlled and run by a “popular” ministry. It is clear that the way I have been treated by this “popular” Government is unique and unprecedented in this country and violates the instructions of the Government of India in using the D. I. Rules not for defending India but in order to shield a procedure that is at once illegal and unjust.

3 Yesterday, when an application for bail was made by my lawyers, the trying Magistrate at Bankshall Court granted the application, but was constrained to remark that his order would remain infructuous because of the action of the Government in detaining me without trial under section 26 of the D. I. Rules. I cannot conceive of a more blatant example of interference in judicial procedure on the part of the Executive. Were the D. I. Rules enacted for “defending” India or for “defending” injustice and illegality of this sort? I wonder.

4 I am sorry that this Government have perpetrated another wrong by supplying the Secretary of State for India with incorrect information about my arrest and detention. As is already known, in reply to Mr. Sorensen's query, the Secretary of State announced in the House of Commons, on the basis of the information received by him, that I had been taken into custody in connection with the Holwell

Monument affair If the whole truth had been told then one would have heard more on the subject in England for I have friends there both in the Commons and among the general public.

5 For the vindication of what I consider to be a legitimate right, there is now but one course open to me viz. to content myself with recording a moral protest—since every other door has been banged on me by the 'popular' Government. Consequently as already intimated to you on the 30th October and in accordance with the vow I have prayerfully taken on the Kali Pujah day I shall commence my fast very soon. I shall send a formal intimation to Government in due course mentioning the exact date but that will be on the very eve of commencement of the fast. I wrote on as far back as the 30th ultimo Government have already had sufficient notice

I shall be obliged if you treat this letter as confidential and kindly forward it to Government confidentially as early as possible

# ULTIMATUM TO BENGAL GOVERNMENT

*Subhas Bose was arrested on 2nd July 1940 and detained without trial under the Defence of India Rules, and while he was still under detention were launched two criminal proceedings against him in two different courts under another section of the Defence of India Act. At the time he was a member of the Central Legislative Assembly and was entitled to immunity from imprisonment when the legislature was in session. While under detention he wrote to the Chief Minister of the Bengal Government, the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly and the Home Minister exposing the grave injustice that was being inflicted on him, the Legislature and his electorate by such detention. Finally, on 26th November 1940 he sent an ultimatum to the Governor of Bengal the Chief Minister and the Council of Ministers, announcing his irrevocable decision to commence from 29th November a fast unto death. "It is a more heinous crime to submit to wrong inflicted than to perpetrate that wrong," he wrote in that letter. "To my countrymen I say, 'forget not that the greatest curse for a man is to remain a slave'. To the Government of the day I say 'Do not use a boomerang which will soon recoil on you'". On 19th November Subhas was quietly released.*

**I** AM WRITING this in connection with my letter of the 30th October, 1940, addressed to the Hon Home Minister (copy of which was forwarded to the Hon Chief Minister) and my confidential letters to the Superintendent, Presidency Jail dated the 30th October, and 14th November, which were forwarded to Government in due course. Herein I shall recapitulate what I have to say regarding my own case and shall also put down in black and white the considerations that are impelling me to take the most fateful step in my life.

I have no longer any hope that I shall obtain redress at your hands. I shall, therefore, make but two requests—the second of which will be at the end of this letter. My first request is that this letter be carefully preserved in the archives of the Government, so that it might be available to those of my countrymen who will succeed you in office in future. It contains a message for my countrymen and is, therefore, my political testament.

I was arrested without any official explanation or justification on the 2nd July, 1940, as per orders of the Government of Bengal, under



**Section 129 of the D I Rules** The first explanation subsequently emanating from the official sources came from the Rt. Hon Mr Amery Secretary of State for India who stated in the House of Commons quite categorically that the arrest was in connection with the movement for the demolition of the Holwell Monument in Calcutta.

The Hon Chief Minister virtually confirmed this pronouncement at a sitting of the Bengal Legislative Assembly and stated that it was the Holwell Monument Satyagraha which stood in the way of my release. When the Government decided to remove the Monument, all those who had been detained without trial in connection therewith were set free with the exception of Mr Narendranath Chakravarti, M L A and myself. These releases took place towards the end of August, 1940 and almost simultaneously an order for my permanent detention was served under Section 26 of the Defence of India Rules in lieu of the original order under Section 129 which provided for temporary detention.

Strangely enough with the new order under Section 26 came the news that prosecution was being launched against me under Section 38 of the D I Rules before two Magistrates for three of my speeches and for a contributed article in the Weekly Journal Forward Bloc of which I had been the Editor. Two of these speeches had been delivered in February 1940 and the third one early in April.

Thus the Government created a unique and unprecedented situation towards the end of August last by detaining me permanently without trial under one Section of Defence of India Rules and by simultaneously prosecuting me before judicial tribunal under another Section of the same Rules. I had not seen a similar combination of executive fiat and judicial procedure before this occurrence took place. Such a policy is manifestly illegal and unjust and smacks of vindictiveness, pure and simple.

One cannot fail to notice that the prosecution was launched long after the alleged offence had taken place. Nor can it be overlooked that for the relevant article in Forward Bloc the paper had already been penalised through forfeiture of the security of Rs. 500 and deposit of a further security of Rs 2000. Moreover the attack on the paper was made all of a sudden after a long period during which no warning had been given to the paper in accordance with the practice of Government.

The attitude of the Bengal Government was further exposed when applications for my release on bail were made before the two trying Magistrates. Both these applications were stoutly opposed by the Government spokesmen. On the last occasion one of the Magistrates Mr Wali ul Islam granted the bail application but was constrained to remark that this order would remain infructuous till the Government

withdrew their order for my detention without trial under Section 20 of the D I Rules

It is thus as clear as day-light that the Government have been pursuing a policy which fetters the discretion of judicial tribunal and interferes with the administration of law. The action of the local Government appears all the more objectionable when it is remembered that they have given the go-by to the instructions of the Government of India with regard to such cases.

Another interesting feature of the Government's policy is my simultaneous prosecution before two Magistrates. If the intention was to place more than one speech of mine before a Court of Law, that could very well have been fulfilled without resorting to two Magistrates, for I have delivered any number of speeches during the last twelve months within the limits of Calcutta proper. The man in the street, is, therefore, forced to think that Government are so keen on seeing me convicted that they have provided a second string to the legal bow.

Last but not least, Government's action appears to an impartial man to be altogether 'mala fide', because proceedings were instituted so long after the alleged prejudicial acts had been committed. If the acts in question were, in fact, prejudicial then action should have been taken by Government long ago i.e. at the same time that the alleged offences were committed.

May I request you to compare for one moment your attitude towards people like myself and towards Muslims arrested and imprisoned under the Defence of India Rules? How many cases have occurred upto now in which Muslims apprehended under the D I Rules have been suddenly released without rhyme or reason?

The latest examples of the Maulsi of Murapara is too fresh in public mind to need recounting. Are we to understand that under your rule there is one law for the Muslim and another for the Hindu and that the D I Rules have a different meaning when a Muslim is involved? If so, Government might as well make a pronouncement to the effect.

Let it be argued or suggested for one moment that for my incarceration, the Government of India, and not the local Government, are responsible—I may remind you that in connection with an adjournment motion concerning myself tabled by Pandit L K Maitra, M L A (Central) before the Indian Legislative Assembly only the other day it was stated on behalf of the Government of India that the matter should not come before the Central Assembly, since I had been incarcerated by the Bengal Government. I believe a similar admission was made in the Bengal Legislative Assembly on behalf of the Ministry.

And we cannot forget that here in Bengal we live under the benign protection of a "popular" ministry.

My recent election to the Indian Legislative Assembly has raised another issue—that of 'immunity' from imprisonment for members for the while the Legislature is in session. This is a right inherent in every constitution no matter whether it is explicitly provided in the statute or not, and this right has been established after a protracted struggle. Quite recently the Burma Government allowed a convicted prisoner to attend the sittings of the Burma Legislative Assembly but though I am not a convicted prisoner I have been denied the right by our 'popular' ministry.

If apologists attempt to invoke the precedent of Captain Ramsay's case I may state that it stands on a different footing altogether. Serious charges have been preferred against him but all the facts not being known to us it is difficult to argue either way.

One may however urge that if Captain Ramsay has been unjustly imprisoned and no redress will be ultimately forthcoming it would lend substance to what Mr Kennedy (American Ambassador to Great Britain) and others are reported to have said—namely that democracy is dead in England. In any case, Capt. Ramsay has had the opportunity of getting his case examined by a Committee of the House of Commons.

In dealing with my case generally two broad issues have now to be considered. Firstly have the Defence of India Rules any sanction ethical or popular? Secondly have the Rules, as they stand been properly applied in my case? The answers to both the questions are in the negative.

The D I Rules have no ethical sanction behind them because they constitute an infringement of the elementary rights and liberties of the people. Moreover they are essentially a war measure and as is known to everybody India was declared a belligerent power and was dragged into the war without the consent of the Indian people or the Indian Legislature.

Further these rules militate against the claim so vociferously made in Britain that she is fighting the cause of freedom and democracy. And lastly the Congress party in the Central Assembly was not a party to the adoption of the Defence of India Rules. In these circumstances it would not be improper to ask whether the Defence of India Rules should not more appropriately be called the Suppression of India Rules or the Defence of Injustice Rules.

It may be urged on behalf of this Government that the Defence of India Act being an Act of the Central Legislature all provincial Governments are obliged to administer the rules framed thereunder. But enough has already been said above to justify the charge that the Rules even as they stand have not been properly applied in my case.

## ULTIMATUM TO BENGAL GOVERNMENT

There has been manifest illegality and injustice. Only one explanation can, to my mind, account for such a strange conduct viz, that Government have been pursuing a frankly vindictive policy towards me for reasons that are quite inexplicable.

For more than two months, the question has been knocking at the door of my conscience over and over again, as to what I should do in such a predicament.

Should I submit to the pressure of circumstances and accept whatever comes my way—or should I protest against what, to me, is unfair, unjust and illegal? After the most mature deliberation I have come to the conclusion that surrender to circumstances is out of the question. It is more a heinous crime to submit to a wrong inflicted than to perpetuate that wrong. So, protest I must.

But all these days, protest has been going on and the ordinary methods of protest have all been exhausted. Agitation in the press and on the platform, representations to Government, demands in the Assembly, exploration of legal channels—have not all of these been already tried and found ineffective? Only one method remains—the last weapon in the hands of a prisoner—i.e. hunger-strike or fast.

In the cold light of logic I have examined the pros and cons of this step and have carefully weighed the loss and gain that will accrue from it. I have no illusion in the matter and I am fully conscious that the immediate, tangible gain will be nil, for I am sufficiently conversant with the behaviour of Governments and bureaucracies during such crisis. The classic and immortal examples of Terence MacSwiney and Jatin Das are floating before my mind's eye at the moment. A system has no heart that could be moved, though it has a false sense of prestige to which it always clings.

Life under existing conditions is intolerable for me. To purchase one's continued existence by compromising with illegality and injustice goes against my very grain. I would throw up life itself rather than pay this price. Government are determined to hold me in prison by brute force. I say in reply, "Release me or I shall refuse to live—and it is for me to decide whether I choose to live or to die."

Though there may be no immediate, tangible gain, no sacrifice is ever futile. In every age and clime the eternal law prevails—"the blood of the martyr is the seed of the church."

In the mortal world, everything perishes and will perish—but ideas, ideals and dreams do not. One individual may die for an idea—but that idea will, after his death, incarnate itself in a thousand lives. That is how the wheels of evolution move on, and the ideas, the dreams

of one generation are bequeathed to the next. No idea has ever fulfilled itself in this world except through an ordeal of suffering and sacrifice

What greater solace can there be than the feeling that one has lived and died for a principle? What higher satisfaction can a man possess than the knowledge that his spirit will beget kindred spirits to carry on his unfinished task? What better reward can a soul desire than the certainty that his message will be wafted over hills and dales and over the broad plains to every corner of his land and across the seas to distant lands? What higher consummation can life attain than peaceful self immolation at the altar of one's cause?

Hence it is evident that nobody can lose through suffering and sacrifice. If he does lose anything of the earth earthly he will gain much more in return by becoming the heir to a life immortal.

This is the technique of the soul. The Individual must die so that the nation may live. Today I must die so that India may live and may win freedom and glory.

To my countrymen I say—Forget not that the greatest curse for a man is to remain a slave. Forget not that the grossest crime is to compromise with injustice and wrong. Remember the eternal law you must give if you want to get it. And remember that the highest virtue is to battle against iniquity no matter what the cost may be.

To the Government of the day I say—Cry halt to your mad drive along the path of communalism and injustice. There is yet time to retrace your steps. Do not use a boomerang which will soon recoil on you. And do not make another Sind of Bengal.

I have finished. My second and the last request to you is that you should not interfere forcibly with my fast but should permit me to approach my end peacefully. In the case of Terence MacSwiney of Jatin Das of Mahatma Gandhi and in my own case in 1926—Government did decide not to interfere with the fast. I hope they will do the same this time—otherwise any attempt to feed me by force will be resisted with all my strength—though the consequences thereof may be even more drastic and disastrous than otherwise. I shall commence my fast on the 20th November 1940.

# MY FINAL APPEAL

*This was the last letter written by Subhas in Presidency Jail, Calcutta, on 5th December 1940 and addressed to the Chief Minister and the Council of Ministers, the Government of Bengal. "This is my final appeal", he writes, reiterating his decision to go on hunger-strike. He was released a few days after he had started the fast.*

**T**HIS IS my final appeal to you

2 I have already written to Government requesting them not to resort to forcible feeding and informing them that if this is, nevertheless, attempted, I shall have to resist it with all my strength, though the consequences thereof may be "more drastic and disastrous than otherwise". In my confidential letter to the Superintendent, Presidency Jail, dated the 30th October last and in my letter to Government dated the 26th November, I made my position perfectly clear. I was, therefore, surprised when I got hints from the Jail authorities that forcible feeding was still being contemplated in my case.

3 I shall not repeat all the arguments urged by me on this subject in the above two letters, but I desire to briefly recapitulate my position once again.

4 Firstly, Government have no moral right to feed me forcibly when they are responsible for making my life intolerable through injustice and illegality, strongly tinged with communalism.

5 Government have no legal authority either to forcibly feed me in these circumstances. There is no law that I know of, which empowers Government to use force in this manner. A departmental order of Government cannot take place of law, particularly when it infringes the elementary rights and liberties of the individual.

6 If any attempt is made to forcibly feed me in spite of my repeated requests to the contrary, all those directly or indirectly responsible for it will become civilly and criminally liable for any injury or pain bodily or mental that may be inflicted on me thereby.

7 Apart from the above points of principle, my physical condition both before and after the commencement of the fast should render it impossible for forcible feeding to be attempted in my case. It should be quite clear that under such circumstances forcible feeding will defeat its own purpose and instead of prolonging life will hasten its end. Civil and criminal liability for the use of force will, owing to this consideration, be naturally aggravated.

8 I may inform you in this connection that in the event of forcible feeding being resorted to I shall have no option but to take steps to relieve myself of the unbearable protracted agony resulting from it. This could be done only by suicide and the responsibility for it will rest entirely with the Government. For a man who has turned his back on life there are a hundred ways of reaching his end and no power on earth can prevent his death. I have chosen the most peaceful method and it would be sheer brutality to force me to adopt a less peaceful or more drastic remedy. The step that I have now taken is not an ordinary fast. It is the result of several months' mature deliberation finally sealed by vow prayerfully taken by me on the sacred day of Kall Pujah.

9 I have been on hunger-strike several times before but this fast is of an unusual type, never resorted to by me previously.

10 Man does not live by bread alone. He needs moral and spiritual sustenance as well. When he is denied the latter you cannot expect him to live merely to further your plans or fit in with your scheme of things.

11. I have already said in my letter of the 26th November that I have but two requests to make of you—firstly that my letter of 26th November which is my political testament, be carefully preserved in the archives of the Government and secondly that I be allowed to approach my end peacefully. Is that asking too much of you?

# PRICE OF INDIA'S LIBERTY

*The following letter from Subhas was produced as an exhibit in the Court-martial trial of Shah Nawaz at Delhi in 1946*

Sadar Daftar, Ala Kaman, Azad Hind Fauj,  
(Headquarters, Supreme Command,  
Indian National Army)  
Rangoon, 12th March, 1945

Major G S Dhillon,

Jai Hind! I have been following the work of your Regiment and of yourself with the closest interest and I want to congratulate you on the manner in which you have stood up to face bravely the situation that is difficult. I want to express my complete confidence in you and in all those who are standing by you in the present crisis.

Whatever happens to us individually in the course of this historic struggle, there is no power on earth that can keep India enslaved any longer. Whether we live and work, or whether we die fighting, we must under all circumstances, have complete confidence that the cause for which we are striving is bound to triumph. It is the finger of God that is pointing the way towards India's freedom. We have only to do our duty and to pay the price of India's liberty. Our hearts are with you and with all who are with you in the present struggle which is paving the way to our national salvation. Please convey my warmest greetings to all the officers and men under you and accept the same yourself. May God bless you and crown your efforts with success — "Jai Hind!"

Sd SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE.



## DURING MY SCHOOL DAYS

*Subhas describes in the following extract from his Autobiography published by Thakur Spinke his spiritual struggle during school days resulting ultimately in his coming into contact with the works of Vivekananda which supplied him the ideals and inspiration that guided his activities all through the rest of his career*

I WAS AT this time (about the age of 15) entering on one of the stormiest periods in my psychical life which was to last for five or six years. It was a period of acute mental conflict causing untold suffering and agony which could not be shared by any friends and was not visible to any outsider. I doubt if a growing boy normally goes through this experience—at least I hope he does not. But I had in some respects a touch of the abnormal in my mental make-up. Not only was I too much of an introvert, but I was in some respects precocious. The result was that at an age when I should have been tiring myself out on the foot ball field I was brooding over problems which should rather have been left to a more mature age. The mental conflict as I view it from this distance was a two fold one. Firstly there was the natural attraction of a worldly life and of worldly pursuits in general against which my higher self was beginning to revolt. Secondly there was the growth of sex-consciousness, quite natural at that age but which I considered unnatural and immoral and which I was struggling to suppress or transcend.

Nature-worship as described above was elevating and therefore helpful to a certain point, but it was not enough. What I required—and what I was unconsciously groping after—was a central principle which I could use as a peg to hang my whole life on, and a firm resolve to have no other distractions in life. It was no easy job to discover this principle or idea and then consecrate my life to it. My agony could have been terminated or at least considerably mitigated if I had either given in at the outset as so many have done or had with one bold effort of the will fixed on an idea and heroically brushed aside all other allurements. But I would not give in—there was something within which would not let me do so. I had therefore to fight on. And a stiff fight it was because I was weak. For me the difficulty was

not about the determination of life's goal so much as about concentrating my entire will on that single goal. Even after I had decided what was the most desirable object in life, it took me a long time to establish peace and harmony within myself by bringing under control contrary or rebellious tendencies, for though the spirit was willing the flesh was weak. A stronger will than mine would undoubtedly have managed things more easily.

One day by sheer accident I stumbled upon what turned out to be my greatest help in this crisis. A relative of mine, who was a new-comer to the town, was living next door and I had to visit him. Glancing over his books, I came across the works of Swami Vivekananda. I had already turned over a few pages when I realised that here was something which I had been longing for. I borrowed the books from him, brought them home, and devoured them. I was thrilled to the marrow of my bones. My headmaster had roused my aesthetic and moral sense—had given a new impetus to my life—but he had not given me an ideal to which I could give my whole being. That Vivekananda gave me.

For days, weeks, months I pored over his works. His letters as well as his speeches from Colombo to Almora, replete as they were with practical advice to his countrymen, inspired me most. From this study I emerged with a vivid idea of the essence of his teachings—"Atmano Mokshartham Jagaddhitaya"—'for your own salvation and for the service of humanity'—that was to be life's goal. Neither the selfish monasticism of the middle ages, nor the modern utilitarianism of Bentham and Mill, could be a perfect ideal. And the service of Humanity included, of course, the service of one's country—for, as his biographer and his chief disciple, Sister Nivedita, pointed out, "The queen of his adoration was his motherland. There was not a cry within her shores which did not find in him a responsive echo." The Swami himself in one of his passionate utterances had said, "Say brothers at the top of your voice—the naked Indian, the illiterate Indian, the Brahman Indian, the Pariah Indian is my brother." Talking of the future, he had remarked that the Brahman (religious caste), the Kshatriya (warrior caste) and the Vaisya (trader caste) each had had their day, and now came the turn of the Sudras, the down-trodden masses. To the ancient scriptures he had given a modern interpretation. Strength, Strength, is what the Upanishads say, he had often declared, have faith (shraddha) in yourselves as Nichiketa of old had. To some idle monks who had turned round and said, "Salvation will come through football and not through the Gita."

I was barely fifteen when Vivekananda entered my life. Then there followed a revolution within and everything was turned upside down. It was, of course, a long time before I could appreciate the full significance of his teachings or the greatness of his personality, but

certain impressions were stamped indelibly on my mind from the outset. Both from his portraits as well as his teachings Vivekananda appeared before me as a full blown personality. Many of the questions which vaguely stirred my mind and of which I was to become conscious later on, found in him a satisfactory solution. My headmaster a personality ceased to be big enough to serve as my ideal. I had previously thought of studying philosophy as he had done and of emulating him. Now I thought of the path which Vivekananda had indicated.

From Vivekananda I turned gradually to his master Ramakrishna Paramahansa. Vivekananda had made speeches written letters, and published books which were available to the layman. But Ramakrishna who was almost an illiterate man had done nothing of the kind. He had lived his life and had left it to others to explain it. Nevertheless there were books or diaries published by his disciples which gave the essence of his teachings as learnt from conversations with him. The most valuable element in these books was his practical direction regarding character building in general and spiritual uplift in particular. He would repeat unceasingly that only through renunciation was realisation possible—that without complete self abnegation spiritual development was impossible to acquire. There was nothing new in his teaching which is as old as Indian civilisation itself the Upanishads having taught thousands of years ago through abandonment of worldly desires alone can immortal life be attained. The effectiveness of Ramakrishna's appeal lay however in the fact that he had practised what he preached and that, according to his disciples he had reached the acme of spiritual progress.

The burden of Ramakrishna's precepta was—renounce lust and gold. This two-fold renunciation was for him the test of a man's fitness for spiritual life. The complete conquest of lust involved the sublimation of the sex instinct, whereby to a man every woman would appear as mother.

## SPIRITUAL STRUGGLE

*In the following extract from his Autobiography Subhas narrates the story of his early spiritual struggle.*

I WAS SOON able to get together a group of friends (besides my relative S C M ) who became interested in Ramakrishna and Vivekananda. At school and outside, whenever we had a chance we would talk of nothing else but this topic. Gradually we took to long walks and excursions which would give us greater opportunities for meeting and discussion. Our members began to swell and we had a welcome acquisition in a young student with a spiritual bent of mind who could sing devotional songs with deep fervour.

At home and abroad we began to attract attention. That was inevitable because of our eccentricities. Students did not, however, venture to ridicule us, because our prestige was high, as some of us occupied the top places at school. But such was not the case at home. My parents noticed before long that I was going out frequently in the company of other boys. I was questioned, warned in a friendly manner, and ultimately rebuked. But all to no purpose. I was rapidly changing and was no longer the goody-goody boy afraid of displeasing his parents. I had a new ideal before me now which had inflamed my soul—to effect my own salvation and to serve humanity by abandoning all worldly desires and breaking away from all undue restraints. I no longer recited Sanskrit verses inculcating obedience to one's parents, on the contrary, I took to verses which preached defiance.

I doubt if I have passed through a more trying period in my life. Ramakrishna's example of renunciation and purity entailed a battle royal with all the forces of the lower self. And Vivekananda's ideal brought me into conflict with the existing family and social order. I was weak, the fight was a long-drawn one in which success was not easy to obtain, hence tension and unhappiness with occasional fits of depression.

It is difficult to say which aspect of the conflict was more painful—the external or the internal. A stronger or less sensitive mind than

mine would have come out successful more quickly or suffered much less acutely than I did. But there was no help I had to go through what was in store for me. The more my parents endeavoured to restrain me, the more rebellious I became. When all other attempts failed my mother took to tears. But even that had no effect on me. I was becoming callous perhaps eccentric, and more determined to go my way though all the time I was feeling inwardly unhappy. To defy my parents in this way was contrary to my nature and to cause them pain was disagreeable but I was swept onwards as by an irresistible current. There was very little appreciation or understanding at home of what I was dreaming at the time and that added to my misery. The only solace was to be found in the company of friends and I began to feel more at home when away from home.

Studies began to lose their importance for me and but for the fact that for years I had studied hard I would have gone under. The only thing that now mattered to me was mental or spiritual exercise. I had no proper guide at the time and turned to books for such help as they could afford me. Only later did I realise that not all of these were written by reliable or experienced men. They were books on Brahmacharya or sex-control, which were readily made use of. Then there were books on meditation which were greedily devoured. Books on Yoga and especially Hatha Yoga were eagerly hunted after and utilised. And over and above this all kinds of experiments were made. A faithful narration of all that I went through would suffice to make a first-class entertainment. Small wonder that some thought that I was on the verge of lunacy.

The first time I resolved to act down in the Yogic fashion the problem was how to do it without being seen and how to face ridicule should I be discovered during the act. The best thing was to attempt it in the dark after sunset and so I did but was ultimately seen one day and there was a titter. One night while I was meditating in secret the maid happened to come in to make the bed and bumped against me in the dark. Imagine her surprise when she found that she had knocked against a lump of flesh.

Concentration was practised in many ways. A black circle was made in the centre of a white background and the eyes were brought to stare fixedly at it till the mind became a perfect blank. Gazing at the blue sky was occasionally practised and what beat everything was staring at the scorching mid-day sun with eyes wide open. Self-mortification of various kinds was also resorted to—for instance eating simple vegetarian food getting up in the early hours of the morning hardening the body to heat and cold etc.

Much of this had to be done with as little publicity as possible whether at home or outside. One of Ramakrishna's favourite maxims

was practise contemplation in a forest or in a quiet corner, in your house or in your own mind, so that none may observe you. The only people who may know of it are fellow-devotees or fellow-Yogis. After we had practised for some time what we considered to be Yoga, we began to compare notes. Ramakrishna had often referred to the inner psychic experiences, including extraordinary powers, which would come one's way as he progressed along the spiritual path, and had warned his disciples against feeling elated over them or indulging in self-advertisement or self-enjoyment of any sort. These psychic experiences and powers had to be transcended if one wanted to reach the higher regions of spiritual consciousness. Even after some months' effort I found that I could not lay claim to any such experience. I had a feeling of confidence and more peace of mind and self-control than before, but that was about all. Perhaps this is due to the want of a guru (preceptor), thought I, since people say that Yoga cannot be practised without a Guru. So began my search for a Guru.

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## LIFE AT CAMBRIDGE

*Subhas describes the life of students at Cambridge University in the following extract from his Autobiography. He described therein the atmosphere of freedom which surrounds the university life the encouragement given by public men to the students in developing their character and the respect and regard that the public show to the students are vividly described here. Leading men in the public life of England participate in university debates and other functions and do not mind being subjected to ruthless criticism at the hands of students.*

**W**HAT GREATLY impressed an outsider like myself at Cambridge was the measure of freedom allowed to the students and the general esteem in which students were held by all and sundry. This undoubtedly had a very wholesome effect on their character. Apart from the measure of freedom enjoyed by the students which would naturally appeal more to me than to British students born and brought up in a free atmosphere the consideration and esteem with which they were treated everywhere was very striking. Even a fresher coming up for the first time would at once get the impression that a high standard of character and behaviour was expected of him and he would be bound to react favourably. This consideration shown towards the undergraduates was not confined to Cambridge but existed to some extent all over the country. In the trains when one was questioned and replied that he was at Cambridge (or Oxford) the attitude of the questioner would change at once. He would become friendly—or shall I say more respectful? This was my personal experience. If there is an element of snobbishness in those who go up to Cambridge or Oxford I certainly do not hold a brief for it. But having been brought up in a police-ridden atmosphere it is my firm conviction that there is a lot to be said in favour of allowing students and young men more freedom and treating them with consideration as if they were responsible citizens.

I remember an incident when I was a College student in Calcutta. I was then awfully fond of buying new books. If I set my heart on a shop-window I would not rest till I possessed it. I would feel so restless till I got the book that I had to buy it before I returned home. One day I went to one of the biggest shops in College Street and asked for

a book on philosophy, on which I was very keen at that time. The price was announced and I found that I was short by a few rupees. I requested the manager to let me have the book and promised to bring the balance the next day. He replied that that was not possible, I would have to pay the full price down first. I was not only disappointed at failing to get the book but was extremely hurt because I was distrustful in this way. It was therefore such a relief to find that you could walk into any shop in Cambridge and order anything you liked without having to bother about payment on the spot.

There is another thing which drew admiration—the debates at the Union Society's meetings. The whole atmosphere was so exhilarating. There was perfect freedom to talk what you liked or attack whosoever you wished. Prominent members of Parliament and sometimes members of the Cabinet took part in these debates in a spirit of perfect equality, and would, of course, come in for slashing criticism not unmingled with invective at times. Once Horatio Bottomley, M. P. was taking part in a debate. He was warned by an opportunist speaker—"There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio, than your "John Bull" dreams of."

("John Bull", a weekly journal, was at the time making scathing exposure of Bottomley's corruption.)

Sparkling bits of humour would enliven the proceedings. During the course of a debate on Ireland a pro-Irish speaker, while exposing the real character of the Government, referred to the "forces of law and order on one side and of Bonar Law and disorder on the other."

Among the guests at these debates, besides well-known parliamentary figures, there were also those who were on the threshold of a public career. I remember, for instance, that Dr. Hugh Dalton was often present at these debates. He was a prospective M. P. nursing some constituency at the time. Sir Oswald Mosely, then a Left Wing Liberal (or Labourite) participated in a debate on India. He vehemently denounced the policy of Dyer and O'Dwyer and raised a storm in British circles by his remark that the events in Amritsar in 1919 were the expression of racial hatred. Sir John Simon and Mr. Clynes once came to plead the miners' cause before the Cambridge public at Guildhall. The undergrads turned up with the object of giving them a hot time. Sir John Simon had to run the gauntlet, but when Mr. Clynes got up (I think he had been a miner himself) he spoke with such sincerity and passion that those who had come to scoff remained to pray.

During the six terms that I was in Cambridge the relations between British and Indian students were on the whole quite cordial, but in few cases did they ripen into real friendship. I myself made friends with people, students and non-students, holding conservative views regard-

ing British politics which continues till the present day in spite of all that I have been through. That was possible because they had sufficient toleration for my ideas. The intelligentsia of Great Britain had been passing through something like an intellectual revolution during the last decade, and specially during the last five years and I daresay that that was reflected in the atmosphere of Cambridge Oxford, London and other places. The experience of today may not therefore tally with that of 1919 and 1920.

The question is often raised as to whether it is desirable to send Indian students abroad and if so at what age. In 1920 an official committee was appointed, presided over by Lord Lytton to consider the affairs of Indian students in Great Britain and this point was also discussed in connection therewith. My considered opinion was and still is that Indian students should go abroad only when they have attained a certain level of maturity. In other words, as a rule they should go after graduation. In that case they can make the most of their stay abroad. This was the view that I put forward when I represented the Cambridge Indian Majlis before the Indian Students Committee.

Much is made of public school training in Britain. I do not desire to express any opinion as to how it affects British people and British students. But so far as Indian students are concerned, I do not have a kind word for it. At Cambridge I came across some Indian products of English public schools and I did not think highly of them. Those who had their parents living with them in England and had home influence to supplement their school-education fared better than those who were quite alone. Education in the lower stages must be national. It must have its roots in the soil. We must draw our mental pabulum from the culture of our own country. How can that be possible if one is transplanted at too early an age? No we should not as a rule countenance the idea of sending boys and girls to schools abroad quite alone at an immature age. Education becomes international at the higher stages. It is then that students can with profit, go abroad and it is then that the East and West can co-mingle to the benefit of both.

## MY FAITH

*Subhas was essentially of a mystical temperament and loved to find the why and wherefore of human life and the entire creation. In the following extract taken from Nitya's Autobiography published by Thacker, Spink and Company, Subhas discusses his ideas of the purpose of creation and the ultimate 'Reality'. The Spirit the essence of which is Love, according to him gradually unfolds itself through conflict of forces.*

**W**HY DO I believe in Spirit? Because it is a pragmatic necessity. My nature demands it. I see purpose and design in nature, I discern an 'increasing purpose' in my own life. I feel that I am not a mere conglomeration of atoms. I perceive, too, that reality is not a fortuitous combination of molecules. Moreover, no other theory can explain reality (as I understand it) so well. This theory is in short an intellectual and moral necessity, a necessity of my very life, so far as I am concerned.

The world is a manifestation of Spirit, and just as Spirit is eternal so also is the world of creation. Creation does not and cannot end at any point of time. This view is similar to the Vaishnavic conception of Eternal Play (Nitya Leela). Creation is not the offspring of sin, nor is it the result of 'Avidya' or 'Ignorance' as the Shankarites would say. It reflects the eternal play of eternal forces—the Divine Play, if you will.

I may very well be asked why I am bothering about the ultimate nature of reality and similar problems, and am not contenting myself with experience as I find it. The answer to that is simple. The moment we analyse experience, we have to posit the self—the mind which receives—and the non-self—the source of all impression, which form the stuff of our experience. The non-self-reality apart from the self—is there, and we cannot ignore its existence by shutting our eyes to it. This reality underlies all our experience, and on our conception of it depends much that is of theoretical—practical value to us.

No, we cannot ignore reality. We must endeavour to know its nature—though, as I have already indicated—that knowledge can at best

be relative and cannot be dignified with the name of Absolute Truth. This relative truth must form the basis of our life—even if what is relative is liable to change

What then is the nature of this Spirit which is reality? One is reminded of the parable of Ramakrishna about a number of blind men trying to describe an elephant—each giving a description in accordance with the organ he touched and therefore, violently disagreeing with the rest. My view is that most of the conceptions of reality are true, though partially and the main question is which conception represents the maximum truth. For me, the essential nature of reality is LOVE. LOVE is the essence of the universe and is the essential principle in human life. I admit that this conception also is imperfect—for I do not know today what reality is in itself and I cannot lay claim to knowing the Absolute today—even if it be within the ultimate reach of human knowledge or experience. Nevertheless with all its imperfection for me this theory represents the maximum truth and is the nearest approach to Absolute Truth

I may be asked how I come to the conclusion that the essential nature of reality is LOVE. I am afraid my epistemology is not quite orthodox. I have come to this conclusion partly from a rational study of life in all aspects—partly from intuition and partly from pragmatic considerations. I see all round me the play of love. I perceive within me the same instinct. I feel that I must love in order to fulfil myself and I need love as the basic principle on which to reconstruct life. A plurality of considerations drives me to one and the same conclusion.

I have remarked above that the essential principle in human life is love. This statement may be challenged when one can see so much in life that is opposed to love. But the paradox can be easily explained. The essential principle is not fully manifest yet. It is unfolding itself in space and time. Love like reality of which it is the essence is dynamic.

What now is the nature of the process of unfolding? Firstly is it a movement forward or not? Secondly is there any law underlying this movement?

The unfolding process is of progressive character. This assertion is not quite dogmatic. Observation and study of nature point to the conclusion that everywhere there is progress. This progress may not be unilinear. There may be periodic set backs—but on the whole it is considered from a long period point of view there is progress. Apart from this rational consideration there is the intuitive experience that we are moving ahead with the lapse of time. And last but not least there is the necessity both biological and moral to have faith in progress.

As various attempts have been made to know reality and to describe it—so also have attempts been made to comprehend the law of progress. None of these efforts is futile, each gives us a glimpse of the truth. The Sankhya Philosophy of the Hindus was probably the oldest endeavour to describe the evolutionary process in nature. That solution will not satisfy the modern mind. In more recent times we have various theories, or perhaps descriptions, of evolution. Some like Spencer would have us believe that evolution consists in a development from the simple to the complex. Others like von Hartmann would assert that the world is a manifestation of blind will—from which one could conclude that it is futile to look for an underlying idea. Bergson would maintain his own theory of creative evolution, evolution should imply a new creation or departure at every stage, which cannot be calculated in advance by the human intellect. Hegel, on the contrary, would dogmatise that the nature of the evolutionary process whether in the thought-world or in reality outside, is dialectic. We progress through conflicts and their solutions. Every thesis provokes an anti-thesis. This conflict is solved by a synthesis, which in its turn, provokes a new anti-thesis—and so on.

All these theories have undoubtedly an element of truth. Each of the above thinkers has endeavoured to reveal the truth as he perceived it. But undoubtedly Hegel's theory is the nearest approximation to truth. It explains the facts more satisfactorily than any other theory. At the same time, it cannot be regarded as the whole truth, since all the facts as we know them, do not accord with it. Reality is, after all, too big for our frail understanding to fully comprehend. Nevertheless, we have to build our life on the theory which contains the maximum truth. We cannot sit still because we cannot, or do not know the Absolute Truth.

Reality, therefore, is Spirit, the essence of which is Love, gradually unfolding itself in an eternal play of conflicting forces and their solutions.

## THOSE EARLY GIANTS

*The tremendous influence that Raja Ram Mohan Roy Keshab Chandra Sen Iswar Chandro Vidyasagar and other early reformers exercised on life in India is vividly portrayed by Subhas in the following extract taken from his Autobiography. Some of these reformers could render an immense amount of national service while still associated with Government. The political situation then was entirely different from what it was during Subhas time. After the partition of Bengal it became impossible for anyone to take part in national politics and be on good terms with Government. If we accept an idea we have to give our lives wholly to it and to allow it to transform our entire life" concludes Subhas.*

**I**T REQUIRES a great deal of imagination now to picture the transformation that Indian Society underwent as a result of political power passing into the hands of the British since the latter half of the eighteenth century. Yet an understanding of it is essential if we are to view in their proper perspective the kaleidoscope changes that are going on in India today. Since Bengal was the first province to come under British rule the resulting changes were more quickly visible there than elsewhere.

So far as Bengal was concerned whatever the causes may be most of the prominent personalities that arose soon after the British conquest were Hindus. The most outstanding of them was Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1722-1833) who founded the Brahmo Samaj in 1828. The dawn of the nineteenth century saw a new awakening in the land. This was of cultural and religious character and the Brahmo Samaj was its spearhead. It could be likened to a combination of the Renaissance and Reformation. One aspect of it was national and conservative—standing for a revival of India's culture and a reform of India's religions. The other aspect of it was cosmopolitan and electric—seeking to assimilate what was good and useful in other cultures and religions. Ram Mohan was the visible embodiment of the new awakening and the herald of a new era in India's history. His mantle fell successively on Maharshi Devendra Nath Tagore (1818-1905) father of the poet Rabindra Nath Tagore and Brahmanand Keshab Chandra Sen (1838-1884) and the influence of the Brahmo Samaj grew day to day.

There is no doubt that at one time the Brahmo Samaj focussed within itself all the progressive movements and tendencies in the country. From the very beginning the Samaj was influenced in its cultural outlook by Western science and thought, and when the newly established British Government was in doubt as to what its educational policy should be—whether it should promote indigenous culture exclusive or introduce Western culture—Raja Ram Mohan Roy took an unequivocal stand as the champion of Western culture. His ideas influenced Thomas Babington Macaulay when he wrote his famous Minute on Education and ultimately became the policy of the Government. With his prophetic vision, Ram Mohan had realised, long before any of his countrymen did, that India would have to assimilate Western science and thought if she wanted to come into her own once again.

The cultural awakening was not confined to the Brahmo Samaj, however. Even those who regarded the Brahmos as too heretical, revolutionary, or iconoclastic were keen about the revival of the indigenous culture of India. While the Brahmos and other progressive sections of the people replied to the challenge of the West by trying to assimilate all that was good in Western culture, the more orthodox circles responded by justifying whatever there was to be found in Hindu society and by trying to prove that all the discoveries and inventions of the West were known to the ancient sages of India. Thus the impact of the West roused even the orthodox circles from their self-complacency. There was a great deal of literary activity among them and they produced able men like Sasadhar Tarkachuramani—but much of their energy was directed towards meeting the terrible onslaughts on Hindu religion coming from the Christian missionaries. In this there was common ground between the Brahmos and the orthodox Pundits, though in other matters there was no love lost between them.

Out of the conflict between the old and the new between the conservatives and the radicals, between the Brahmos and the Pundits, there emerged a new type—the noblest embodiment of which was Pundit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar. This new type of Indian stood for progress and for a synthesis of Eastern and Western culture and accepted generally the spirit of reform which was abroad, but refused to break away from Hindu society or to go too far in emulating the West, as the Brahmos were inclined to do at first. Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, for instance, was brought up as an orthodox Pundit, became the father of modern Bengali prose and a protagonist of Western science and culture, and was a great social reformer and philanthropist—but till the last, he stuck to the simple and austere life of an orthodox Pundit. He boldly advocated the remarriage of Hindu widows and incurred the wrath of the conservatives in doing so—but he based his arguments mainly on the fact that the ancient scriptures approved of such a custom. The type which Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar represented ultimately found its religious and philosophical expression in Ramakrishna.



Paramahansa (1834-1886) and his worthy disciple Swami Vivekananda (1863-1902). Swami Vivekananda died in 1902 and the religio-philosophical movement was continued through the personality of Arahindo Ghose. Arahindo did not keep aloof from politics. On the contrary he plunged into the thick of it, and by 1908 became one of the foremost political leaders. In him spirituality was wedded to politics. Arahindo retired from politics in 1909 to devote himself exclusively to religion, but spirituality and politics continued to be associated together in the life of Lokamanya B. G. Tilak (1856-1920) and Mahatma Gandhi (1869).

This brief narrative will serve as a rough background and will give some idea of the social environment which existed when my father was a student of the Albert School at Calcutta. Society was then dominated by a new aristocracy which had grown up alongside of British rule who should now call in socialist parlance the allies of British Imperialism. This aristocracy was composed roughly of three classes or professions—1. Landlords 2. Lawyers and civil servants and 3. merchant princes. All of them were the creation of the British, their assistance being necessary for carrying out the policy of administration-cum-exploitation.

The landlords who came into prominence under British rule were not the semi-independent or autonomous chiefs of the feudal age but were tax-collectors who were useful to a foreign Government in the matter of collecting land revenue and who had to be regarded for their loyalty during the Rebellion of 1857 when the existence of British rule hung by a thread.

Though the new aristocracy dominated contemporary society and as a consequence men like Maharaja Jalindra Mohan Tagore and Raja Benoy Krishna Deb Bahadur were regarded by the Government as the leaders of society, they had little in the way of intellectual or moral appeal. That appeal was exercised in my father's youth by men like Keshav Chandra Sen and to some extent, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar. Whenever the former went crowds followed him. He was indeed the hero of the hour. The spiritual fervour of his powerful orations raised the moral tone of society as a whole and of the rising generations in particular. Like other students my father too came under his magic influence and there was a time when he even thought of a formal conversion to Brahmoism. In any case Keshav Chandra undoubtedly had an abiding influence on my father's life and character. Years later in far-off Cuttack portraits of this great man would still adorn the walls of his house and his relations with the local Brahmo Samaj continued to be cordial throughout his life.

Though there was a profound moral awakening among the people during the formative period of my father's life, I am inclined to think that politically the country was still dead. It is significant that his

heroes—Keshav Chandra and Iswar Chandra—though they were men of the highest moral stature were by no means anti-Government or anti-British. The former used to state openly that he regarded the advent of the British as a divine dispensation. And the latter did not shun contact with the Government or with Britishers as a non-co-operator today would, though the keynote of his character was an acute sense of independence and self-respect. My father, likewise, though he had a high standard of morality, and influenced his family to that end, was not anti-Government. That was why he could accept the position of Government Pleader and Public Prosecutor, as well as a title from the Government. My father's elder brother, Principal Devendra Nath Bose, belonged to the same type. He was a man of unimpeachable character, greatly loved and respected by his students for his intellectual and moral attainments, but he was a Government servant in the Educational Department. Likewise, before my father's time it was possible for Bankim Chandra Chatterji (1838-1894) to compose the "Bande Mataram" song and still continue in Government service. And D L Roy could be a magistrate in the service of the Government and yet compose national songs which inspired the people. All this could happen some decades ago because that was an age of transition, probably an age of political immaturity. Since 1905, when the partition of Bengal was effected in the teeth of popular opposition and indignation, a sharpening of political consciousness has taken place, leading to inevitable friction between the people and the Government. People are nowadays more resentful of what the Government does and the Government in its turn is more suspicious of what the people say or write. The old order has changed yielding place to new, and today it is no longer possible to separate morality from politics—to obey the dictates of morality and not land oneself in political trouble. The individual has to go through the experience of his race within the brief span of his own life, and I remember quite early that I too passed through the stage of what I may call non-political morality, when I thought that moral development was possible while steering clear of politics—while complacently giving unto Caesar what is Caesar's. But now I am convinced that life is one whole. If we accept an idea, we have to give ourselves wholly to it and to allow it to transform our entire life. A light brought into a dark room will necessarily illuminate every portion of it.

## VOW OF BRAHMACHARYA

*"Nothing worth while is ever achieved in this world nor any great is won in time that will bear fruit in eternity but through Brahmacharya which is an undivided dedication of oneself to one's ideal worthy of a thinking man so says Subhas quoted in Anthony Elcnylmitham's "The Hero of Hindustan" published by Orient Book Company. Subhas here describes some mystical experiences that made him take the vow of celibacy and how that vow enabled him to face the trial and tribulations of a stormy life*

**Y**EARs AGO on one December morning when I was walking alone in the Maldan of Calcutta I had a wonderful experience. The breeze was then blowing. The green grass, the open space and the trees around me became a living reality. I felt then what the Vedie seers saw and proclaimed that this whole universe is a living organism and that my salvation consists in realising myself in it. There was then no "I and thou" for me but only the ocean of "I AM" in which I was then immersed. A new light, a new inspiration came to me that day. That experience thrilled my body, soul and mind all of which became one at that wonderful moment. In that blessed hour I had a glimpse as it were into an ineffable something, an ecstatic vision, a rapture in which I saw and heard things which it is hard for mortals to describe. This is the vision about which Dante sings while beginning his paradise:

In heaven where shines most His light

I was rapt and glimpsed those things which to describe

One neither knows nor can who descends from there.

Then all the dark corners of the world became lit up and I experienced the divine significance of human existence. The thrill and vividness of that vision was such that every time I felt wavering or despondent in later life on merely remembering that blessed vision I gathered strength and never lost heart since. At that time a wedding of my heart to that lofty ideal took place. The writings of Gandhiji were still fresh in my mind specially those passages in which he spoke about the ideal of Brahmacharya. Gandhiji had said in all truth

in his "My Experiments" how, when he looked back on the past, he saw very clearly that everything he had been able to achieve, as a servant of India and humanity, centred around that vow of Brahmacharya which he took late in life 'Subhas, you shall be a Brahmacharin all throughout your life, because great work you have to accomplish in your country', I said to myself For that divine ideal, viz to serve my country to the best of my ability, I then decided to stick firm to the vow of Brahmacharya, and thus canalise and sublimate all my energy and life to the contemplation and realisation of that great ideal which then loomed before my mind

Regarding the doctrine of Brahmacharya Gandhi and I hold one and the same view Nothing worth while is ever achieved in this world, nor any seed is sown in time that will bear fruit in eternity, but through Brahmacharya, which is undivided dedication of oneself to one ideal, worthy of a thinking man We call it in Bengali Ekagrohitta Mon, which means one-pointedness of our mind towards a definite course or ideal in life

The power of Brahmacharya is such that you gain ever-growing physical strength and never-ending mental vigour enabling you to pursue your ideal This ideal is today lived by Fuehrer He told me a little bit of his personal story, when I lunched with him at Berchtesgarden I felt a thrill when I discovered a few parallels in Fuehrer's life and mine The Church has imposed the vow of celibacy on all her consecrated ministers and servants If what is imposed by law becomes self-imposed by sheer force of conviction, with a burning desire to achieve a great ideal in life, there is hardly anything impossible for such a one It is ours to work, but God's to make His garden flower and fructify

On returning home, I was absorbed in thought and recollection on the ocean of psychological forces that were at work during that vivid experience at the Maidan Thoughts flooded into my mind and the ideal of Brahmacharya shining clearer before my heart Then I remember what Milton had said in his Comus

a hidden strength,  
 "Tis chastity, my brother, chastity  
 She that has that, is clad in complete steel,  
 And like a quivered Nymph with arrow keen  
 May trace huge forests, and unharboured heaths,  
 Infamous hills, and sandy perilous wildes,  
 Where through the sacred rays of chastity,  
 No savage fierce, bandit or mountaineer  
 Will dare to soil her virgin purity  
 Some say no evil things that walk by night,  
 In fog or fire, by lake or moorish fen,

Blue meagre hag or stubborn unlaid ghost  
 That breaks his magic chains at curfew time,  
 No goblin, or swart faery of the mine  
 Hath hurtful power o'er virginity  
 Hence had the huntress Dian her dread bow  
 Fair silver shafted queen for ever chaste  
 Wherewith she tamed the brindled lioness  
 And spotted mountain pard but set at nought  
 The frivolous bolt of Cupid  
 That wise Minerva wore unconquered virgin  
 Wherewith she freezed her foes to congeal'd stone.  
 So dear to Heaven is saintly chastity  
 That when a soul is sincerely found so

Then its parallel texts in the book of Wisdom of Solomon in Phedrus of Plato and in all the classical and religious literatures of the world come back to my mind. That day I made a solemn vow which still gives me courage and carries me through many a trial and ordeal in life. From that day onwards I have gone ahead. Even when it became very difficult for my heart to defy Gandhism in its applied politics I did not waver propped up by the inscrutable strength of that vow I took on that breezy morn on that December day in Calcutta Maldan. God was the only witness then

# SHATTER SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SHACKLES

*Subhas urges in this article written on May 31, 1931 the need to break down the caste system and other barriers to freedom. He also urges the need for self-imposed discipline among our youth*

**T**HE NAUJAWAN BHARAT SABHA movement is not a local or provincial affair. It is an all-India movement, appearing it may be under different names in different parts of the country, and having it may be slightly different methods of work in different places. Nevertheless the fundamental character of this movement is the same all over the country. And the very existence of this movement demonstrates that there were potent causes, which necessitated the birth of this movement.

The psychological impulse behind this movement is a feeling of restlessness and impatience, of acute discontent with the present order of things, and a profound desire for a radical change. This basic feeling has a destructive, as well as a creative element the desire to destroy what appears to the youthful mind to be old, unsuitable, insufficient, or evil and to create an organisation through which they could give full play to their destructive as well as creative instincts and desires. Youth movement will not care for members, it will only seek to rally the radical elements in society. It will not be merely political, since it will interest itself in every department of human life, and will seek to introduce a thoroughly new socio-economic order as well as a body politic. It will not be content with tackling the superficial problems of the day, but will take up the deeper problems of our life as well, and attempt to solve them.

Since the earliest ages humanity has been in search of a better order of things. This search has gone on alike in the East, and in the West, and not only sages and dreamers, but politicians and statesmen as well, have been after it. The vision of an ideal society or state has appeared in different forms in different climes, but the impulse behind them all has been the same. In the West people dreamt of an Ideal Republic. Sometimes the people endeavoured to go back to the

state of nature from whence they think they came at other times they have tried to demolish the age-long social economic, and political structure in order to rear up something great and noble on the ruins of the past. In the search for a better order humanity has throughout the ages been groping in the twilight of darkness and light. Religion, philosophy and literature have all tried to throw some light on that elusive will o the wisp the ideal. It would be interesting to trace and study these efforts made in almost every civilized country from age to age but that would take much time and may divert us from the immediate problem before us. It will suffice to say that mankind has now accepted the theory of progress and has rejected the opposite theory viz. the theory of man's fall and his subsequent degradation. This theory of progress may be made the starting point of our discussion.

If we undertake a comparative analysis of the different socio-political ideals that have inspired human endeavour and activity throughout the ages we shall arrive at certain common principles. The same result may be attained by searching our hearts, and asking ourselves as to what principles and ideals would make our life worth living by following either course. I am led to the conclusion that the principles that should form the basis of our collective life are justice, equality, freedom, discipline and love. There is hardly any necessity of arguing that all our affairs and relations should be guided by a sense of justice. In order to be just and impartial we shall have to treat all men as equal we shall have to make them free. Bondage economic or political robs men of their freedom and gives rise to inequalities of various kinds. Therefore in order to ensure equality we must get rid of bondage of every kind social economic and political and we must become fully and wholly free. But freedom does not mean indiscipline or licence. Freedom does not imply the absence of law. It only means the substitution of our own law and our own discipline in place of an externally imposed law and discipline.

Discipline imposed on us, by ourselves is necessary not only when we have to achieve freedom but is more necessary when we are struggling to achieve freedom. Therefore discipline whether for the individual or for society is necessary as basis of life. Lastly all these principles viz. justice, equality, freedom and discipline presuppose or imply another higher principle viz. love. Unless we are inspired by a feeling of love for humanity we can neither be just towards all nor treat men as equal nor feel called upon to sacrifice and sacrifice in the cause of freedom nor enforce discipline of right or wrong. These five principles therefore should in my opinion be the basis of our collective life. I shall go further and say that these principles constitute the essence of socialism. I would like to see them established in India.

While seeking light and inspiration from abroad we cannot forget that we should not blindly imitate any other people, and that we should assimilate what we learn elsewhere after finding out what will suit our national requirements. There is a deal of truth in the proverb, "What is one man's meat is another man's poison". To summarise what I have said, I want a Socialist Republic in India. The exact form the socialist state will take is not possible to detail at this stage. We can at this stage outline only the main principles and features of the socialist state.

The message which I have to give is one of complete all round undiluted freedom. We want political freedom, whereby is meant the constitution of an Independent Indian State, free from the control of British Imperialism. It should be quite clear to everybody that independence means severance from the British Empire, and on this point there should be no vagueness, or mental reservation. Secondly, we want complete economic emancipation. Every human being must have the right to work, and the right to a living wage. There shall be no drones in our society, and no unearned incomes. There must be equal opportunities for all. Above all, there should be a fair, just, and equitable distribution of wealth. For this purpose, it may be necessary for the state to take over the control of the means of production and distribution of wealth. Thirdly, we want complete social equality. There shall be no caste, no depressed classes. Every man will have the same rights, the same status in society. Further, there shall be no inequality between the sexes either in social status or in Law—and woman will be in every way an equal partner of man.

The Naujawan Bharat Sabha movement or the youth movement must have cadres in which the best among us must be drawn. Arrangements must be made for training youth men and women, who will be our future workers. This training must be an all-round one, and must provide for the physical, intellectual, and moral uplift of our youths. Unless we have a net-work of institutions with this end in view, the youth movement will never grow.

When these workers have been trained and are fit to work, they will have to go out and organise the country. I would suggest the following programme:

- (1) Organisation of peasants and workers on a socialistic programme
- (2) Organisation of young men and women into volunteer corps under strict discipline
- (3) Extensive movement for the abolition of social and religious superstitions



- (4) Organisation of women's associations for propagating among our womenfolk the idea of all round freedom and equality
- (5) Creation of new literature for giving expression to the new thought in the country
- (6) Countrywide propaganda for popularising the new ideas of the age

After our young workers are properly trained and have fully understood the new ideas, they should take up the task of stirring up all the radical elements in our society and of rousing into life and activity the hitherto backward sections of our community

## BEWARE OF ARM-CHAIRS

*In this article published in the "Modern Review" in August 1938 Subhas points out the advantages and dangers of office acceptance. It may destroy the rebel mentality which it had taken the Congress so many years to build*

NOW THAT the supreme executive of the Indian National Congress has decided to permit members of the Congress to accept ministerial office in those provinces where the Congress Party is in majority, it behoves us to be alert about the dangers ahead of us. Constitutional activity will become the order of the day and extra-constitutional methods like civil disobedience, which have hitherto been the main political weapon in the hands of the Congress, will be relegated to the background. A psychological change in the mentality of the people will necessarily follow and a desire for the loaves and fishes of office will creep into the minds of many Congressmen. The rebel mentality, which it has taken the Congress years to foster will once again give place to self-complacency and inertia. These are some of the possibilities that are looming large today.

I am not one of those who consider that acceptance of ministerial office is wrong in principle. Entry into the Legislatures and acceptance of office no doubt involve taking the Oath of Allegiance to the British Crown. But I have always regarded such oaths as purely constitutional in character. Between 1922 and 1925, when the question of entry into the Legislatures was being hotly debated in Congress circles, the arguments of the oppositionists that such entry necessarily implied swearing allegiance to the Crown, never appealed to me. I see nothing ethically wrong in the de Valera's taking the Oath of Allegiance. The issues involved are not those of principle but of expediency and the standpoint from which I judge such issues is entirely realistic.

I have always held the view that those who fight for freedom will have to undertake the task of "post-war" reconstruction when freedom is won. There can be no shirking of responsibility on the pretext, "Our mission is over". Therefore, as soon as a political party is victorious, it has to throw itself heart and soul into the task of administration and social reconstruction and thereby demonstrate that it can create as

effectively as it can destroy. But before the party can undertake responsibility it has to decide if the longed for hour has arrived and freedom's battle has been won. Coming to the issue in hand the question which confronts us is Does the Government of India Act, 1935 give what we have striven for and leaving out the Central Government for the time being does it even give us real autonomy in the province? The obvious reply is 'No

It will of course be argued that, in political as in military warfare we have to occupy every vantage-point and consolidate our position as we proceed towards our goal. Very true. But are we sure that in trying to capture the seats of power for what they are worth we shall not get lost in the labyrinth of administration and begin to renounce that rebel mentality which is the starting point of all political progress? The Congress today is clearly in the presence of a dilemma. In order to continue the fight for freedom which is less than half won it cannot afford to let all its front rank men go in for ministerial office. On the other hand unless really first rate men become Congress Ministers in the different provinces, we shall fail to make the fullest use of the seats of influence and power which the constitution gives us. It was only a first rate political genius like the late V. J. Patel who as the President of the Indian Legislative Assembly during the period 1925-30 could uphold the popular cause, create a parliamentary tradition and keep the members of the Treasury Benches in their places. A lesser man would certainly have failed.

It can or will be also urged by the protagonists of office-acceptance that experience in administration is indispensable for a political party and that the new Constitution offers scope for acquiring such experience. But this argument may easily be done with. Experience in administration is not the same as experience in organisation and while the latter may be an asset for any party the former may be more of a handicap than otherwise. The greatest administrators in post war Europe as in all ages in all climes were comparatively young and also inexperienced in administration when they took over the reins of office from their predecessors. One has only to look at successful administrators like Lenin, Hitler, Mussolini and Kemal Pasha to appreciate the force of my arguments. The fact is that after a revolution (whether violent or non violent) the new administration requires principles and technique of quite a different order and in order to come with the new situation successfully it is not experience that proves a valuable asset, courage, imagination and resourcefulness. Did experienced administrators produce the five year plan for Soviet Russia or build up a new Republic for the Turks or found a new empire for Italy or create a new Persia out of chaos and corruption?

There is no doubt that the central citadel of power and reaction (the Government of India) is still in the hands of the British Government and it is only the outposts, the Provincial Governments that

have passed into our hands and that too, not wholly. In such circumstances, can we continue our fight for full freedom without being sidetracked from the main issue and without losing much of our pristine zeal, if an important section within our party choose to bury themselves in the details of administration? An *a priori* answer to this question is not of much value and events alone will furnish us with the proper reply in fulness of time. But if the faith of pro-office party is to be justified, we have to be forewarned and forearmed against the disasters which are likely to overtake us in the near future and to which reference has been made in the first paragraph. My object today is not to re-open a question that has been decided once for all by the Supreme Executive of the Congress, but to indicate some rocks of which we have to steer clear, if we intend to further the cause of India's independence while making the most of the new constitution.

The big problems which an Indian statesman will have to tackle are, poverty, unemployment, disease and illiteracy. These problems can be successfully solved only by a national government with plentiful resources at its command. Once we have the will to handle these problems, we shall require the organisation and the money to do so. Will the Congress Ministers in the provinces find the necessary organisation and money to undertake nation-building work on a large scale? Regarding organisation, it may be pointed out that the superior services are manned largely by Britishers who have been brought up under a totally different tradition and who will always be conscious that their pay, emoluments and pension are safeguarded in the constitution beyond the control of the Ministers. Will such officers fall in line with the new policy which Congress Ministers will necessarily enunciate?

If they do not, then what will be the fate of the Ministers? With the best of intentions, will they be able to struggle against an obstructionist bureaucracy? It will be quite impossible for them to alter the personnel of the higher services because the latter constitute a "reserved" subject which the Ministers cannot touch. The Ministers will therefore have to carry on with them as best as they can though they may run the risk of seeing their work nullified through their obstructionist policy. Further, several of the provinces will present us with the paradoxical situation of a Congress Government being run largely by British Officers and their erstwhile proteges.

The problem of finance is a problem even more formidable. The Congress Party is committed to certain measures which will cut at the sources of government revenue and will make it extremely difficult to launch on nation-building work on a large scale. After a reduction in land-rent and the introduction of a prohibitionist policy with regard to excise, the Ministry may have even to face a budget deficit. In any other country, the Finance Minister would at once set about reducing expenditure. In the Indian provinces, the salary and emoluments of the

higher services cannot be touched and the other ranks are generally too ill paid to leave any room for economy. Consequently retrenchment in this sphere will be out of question. Army, Railways, Posts and Telegraphs etc. being federal subjects retrenchment in or increase of income from any of these departments will not be possible either. None of the provincial governments can create more money through inflation which is easily possible in view of the large gold reserve which India has because currency is also a federal subject. In these circumstances the only alternative open to a Provincial Government will be to float a big loan for financing nation building activities. But will the Governor recommend such a loan for the approval of the Provincial Legislative Assembly and will the reactionary Central Government of Lord Linlithgow sanction such a loan where such sanction is called for under the Constitution? If this is not done blank despair is likely to stare the Congress Ministers in the face.

In the light of above considerations let us see what tangible good the Congress Ministers can achieve. Firstly they can release the political prisoners, repeal the repressive laws and ordinances and allow the people to have more freedom. Secondly they can infuse a new spirit into the provincial administration and set up a new standard of public service for all classes of Government servants and especially the police. Thereby they may be able to get more work out of existing officers and employees of the Government and improve the standard of administration. Thirdly they can give a fillip to the constructive activities of the Congress by offering Governmental co-operation wherever possible. Fourthly they can give an impetus to indigenous industries and especially to Khadi (handspun and handwoven cloth) by preferring home-made goods to imported stuff when Government stores have to be purchased. Fifthly they can initiate beneficial legislation in several matters (e.g. social welfare, public health etc.) especially where such legislation does not entail additional expenditure. Sixthly by a careful distribution of patronage they can strengthen the nationalist elements in the provinces and incidentally weaken the reactionary forces. Seventhly they can undertake a comprehensive economic survey of the provinces with a view to ascertaining the wealth of the people, their taxable capacity and the extent of unemployment. Eighthly they may effect a certain amount of retrenchment in some departments. Ninthly they can utilise their official position for thwarting the introduction of Federation at the centre. Last but not least through their example they may exert a wholesome influence on non-Congress Ministers in the five other provinces.

But these are after all piecemeal reforms. They may satisfy the people for a time but not for long. Before the first year is out the basic problems—poverty, unemployment, disease, illiteracy etc.—will once again assume serious proportions and demand an urgent remedy.

With a reactionary Government at the Centre and with limited provincial finances will the Congress Ministries be able to cope with the demand? Poverty and unemployment can be tackled only by improvement of agriculture and a revival of national industries, along with a rapid extension of banking and credit facilities. All this will require more money. For the eradication of disease, large sums of money will be needed in connection with preventive and curative measures on the one hand and the promotion of sports and physical culture on the other. And the abolition of illiteracy will presuppose the introduction of free and compulsory primary education for young and old, which will be possible only when large funds are at the disposal of the Ministers. These fundamental problems which have not yet been satisfactorily solved by the foremost nations of the day, can be successfully tackled in India only when there is a popular government in provinces and at Delhi and there is thorough co-operation between the central and provincial governments. Further it is my firm conviction that the financial needs of a backward and impoverished country like India which has to make up its deficiencies can never be met by following the principles or conventions of orthodox finance. I can, therefore, visualise a time in the near future when the Congress Ministers, having gone through a substantial portion of their programme of piecemeal reform, will realise that no further progress is possible until a popular government is installed at Delhi and there is complete transference of power to the people of the country.

But we need not think that it will be all smooth sailing for the Congress Ministers until we come to this stage. I have already hinted at two difficulties which will dog their footsteps throughout their official career, viz, paucity of finance and the prerogatives of the superior service. The first point does not need any labouring, but I should like to illustrate the second. Take a specific instance, the Indian Medical Service. Under the new scheme, the number of Britishers will remain constant, but the number of Indians will be reduced to 198 and out of this number, there will be 58 officers on Short Service Commission. The basic pay of the I M S Officers will be reduced in future, but the Britishers will be more than compensated by an increase in the overseas allowance, which by the way will be denied to Indian members of the Service. Thus under the new scheme, the position of Indian members of the I M S vis-a-vis the British members, will be worse than what it is today. And to make it still worse, some of the best districts in the country and some of the best jobs in the Medical Colleges will be reserved for Britishers. Though the Congress Ministers will not be responsible for this state of affairs and though well-informed and educated men will appreciate the helplessness of their position, the man in the street will not absolve the Provincial Government from all blame for its inability to push on with the Indianization of the superior services or to reduce the exorbitant salaries and emoluments which

they draw. The Congress Ministries in the six provinces will be in an anomalous position because they will not be able to touch a single prerogative belonging to the latter. The position of other branches of the superior services will be similar to that of I M S.

If such be the prospect before the Congress Ministers in the six provinces one can easily imagine what the record of the Ministers in the five other provinces will be where the majority of the Ministers are spineless creatures whose one ambition is somehow to remain in office. In Bengal for instance the achievements of the Ministry or rather the non achievements during the last four months are nugatory for the future. They have not yet had the courage to tackle the first item in the programme of any popular ministry viz the release of all political prisoners. What then can one expect of that ministry in the matter of handling the difficult jute problem of Bengal on the satisfactory solution of which depends the welfare and prosperity of at least thirty if not forty millions of people?

Are we to conclude then that nothing substantial can come out of the policy of accepting ministerial office? Certainly not. Though unlike the majority of Congressmen today I have no hope of far reaching reforms through the instrumentality of Congress Ministers I nevertheless believe that it is possible to utilize the policy of office-acceptance to the fullest extent and advance the cause of Indian Independence. But in order to accomplish that we have to be wide awake and not allow the Congress to degenerate into a glorified Liberal League. There is no lack of people within the Congress who left to themselves would like to slide back into the more comfortable path of constitutionalism.

The greatest advantage accruing from office acceptance will be that it will inspire the masses with the belief that the Congress is the natural successor of the British Government and that in the fulness of time the entire government machinery in India will pass into the hands of Congress Party. The moral gain resulting from this will be more immeasurable than any material gain which may fall to our lot through the grace of Congress Ministers. Secondly for a weak minded Congressman a taste of power may be a powerful incentive to further activity involving suffering and sacrifice and may engender greater self-confidence. Thirdly it will enable the Congress to oppose the introduction of Federation not only from without but also through the medium of the Provincial Governments and if as a result of this twofold opposition the Federal Plan is finally smashed the Congress will have a feather in its cap. Last but not the least through office acceptance the Congress Ministries will be able to demonstrate to India and to the world from their own administrative experience that there is little scope for far reaching social construction within the limits of the

Constitution of 1935 The experience will prepare the Congress and the country at large, psychologically for the final assault on the citadel of reaction at Delhi and Whitehall

Personally, I shall be more than satisfied if this four-fold result follows from office-acceptance Those of us who have no faith in office-acceptance as a policy, but have to abide by it as a **fait accompli**, have to warn our countrymen against the talk of a ten-year programme for Congress Ministries which has been started by some Congress leaders who may possibly be feeling inclined to accept constitutionalism as a settled policy for the future

It is gratifying to see that the foremost leaders of the Congress, Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Babu Rajendra Prasad and others, have kept aloof not only from ministerial office, but also from the Legislatures This will be a guarantee that the Congress will not lose itself in the meshes of parliamentary activity and thereby sink into a purely constitutional body (I am using the word "constitutional" in its narrow sense) These leaders will see to it that the Congress Ministers are kept in their places and carry out the instructions of the Congress High Command Above all, the fact that Mahatma Gandhi, in spite of his temporary retirement, is as vigilant as ever, watching events with the closest interest, will convince everyone that should the occasion arise,—in all probability it may,—he will not hesitate to come out into the open once again and call upon the Congress to discard constitutional activity, and unfurl the flag of "mass satyagraha" so that the Congress may fight its last battle for winning "Purna Swaraj" for India



## GERMANY'S SWOOPING TACTICS

*The following article written by Subhas and published in the "Forward Blo" issue dated April 13 1940 surveys the war situation as it then stood. Of course the war sprung many surprises on everyone and Subhas was no exception*

**I**T SEEMS that in modern warfare speed and mobility are exceedingly important factors. There is an old saying—Well begun is half done. One should in these days modify it as—Quick begun is half done. Germany has been practising this teaching with scrupulousness and precision. Whether in the military occupation of the Rhineland or in the annexation of Czechoslovakia or in the invasion of Poland or in the latest inroad into Scandinavia she has always acted with lightning rapidity. By attacking suddenly the enemy's nerve-centres she has tried to overwhelm or paralyse him before he could realise what had happened. Such swooping tactics presuppose careful planning over a long period and adequate preparation in accordance with it. Nazi Germany has been a past master in this art of detailed planning and careful preparation.

Besides detailed planning and adequate preparation energy and vigour are needed to fulfil a particular programme according to a timetable. All these qualities the Nazis certainly possess. Owing to their speed and mobility they have invariably caught the enemy napping and overpowered him without much difficulty.

The case with which Czechoslovakia was overpowered and annexed by Germany came as a surprise to many. The conquest of Poland within three weeks was a still greater surprise because Poland was reputed to have a powerful army with the necessary modern equipment and the Poles were known to be fearless fighters.

The annexation of Czechoslovakia was necessary on strategic grounds in view of the coming attack on Poland. The annexation of Poland or at least of the Polish Corridor was necessary in order to link up East Prussia with the main portion of Germany. The annexation of Austria of Danzig of Memelland—one can understand and account for on grounds of race and nationality among other reasons. But what about poor Scandinavia?

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The small Scandinavian countries of Denmark and Norway never constituted a menace to powerful Germany. Why, then, did the latter violate their territorial integrity? The ostensible ground is that Great Britain had laid mines in Norwegian waters. Germany acted in retaliation.

But this answer is not an adequate one. If the British were responsible for laying mines in Norwegian waters, Germany should have struck hard at her in retaliation. Why did she strike at Denmark and Norway instead?

The reason is that Germany had grounds for believing that Great Britain was planning to occupy Denmark and Norway—just as she had occupied Salonika in Greece during the Great War. So Germany forestalled her enemy and herself occupied the two Scandinavian countries. Because of greater speed and mobility, she could do that in advance of Britain. The occupation of Denmark was like a picnic and that of Norway was like a cake-walk. With careful planning and preparation all this could be accomplished with lightning speed.

The occupation by Britain of the Faroe Island which belonged to Denmark, shows that German anticipation of the British occupation of Denmark and Norway was not ill-founded.

Germany may be fascist or imperialist, ruthless or cruel, but one cannot help admiring these qualities of hers—how she plans in advance, prepares accordingly, works according to a time-table and strikes with lightning speed. Could not these qualities be utilised for promoting a nobler cause?

## AFTER FALL OF PARIS

*The following article written by Subhas was published in the "Forward Bloc" on June 1, 1940 after the fall of Paris and speculates on the possible future developments*

**W**HEN THE Nazi hordes crossed the German frontier into Holland and Belgium only the other day with the cry of *nach Paris* or their lips who could have dreamt that they would reach their objective so soon? A miracle in military warfare has happened as it were before our eyes and for an analogy one has to turn to the Napoleonic wars or to the catastrophe at Sedan in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. Whatever the French High Command may say in the face of machine transport innumerable tanks and dive bombers no resistance worth the name is possible after the capitulation warfare is over.

But what next? It is clear that Reynaud's Government will not make a separate peace with Germany leaving Great Britain in the lurch. But how long will he be able to retain the confidence of the French people? The fall of his Cabinet a tempting offer from Germany and Italy a new Cabinet ready to make peace on those terms—these are events not altogether beyond the domain of possibility. The British Premier Mr Winston Churchill made an ominous reference to this in his historic speech the other day.

And England? What is she likely to do with or without France? The answer to this question could be furnished by that inexplicable factor—the public morale. Unfortunately the morale of the British people has been badly shaken and the speeches of the Premier and of other Ministers give ample proof of it. Why should it be necessary to tell the British people that they should not go about with long faces as if they were at a funeral? Why should it be necessary to tell the world that even if Great Britain is overrun by the Nazis the empire will go on fighting and in God's good time the new world will come to the rescue of the old world? The British people are famous for their dogged pertinacity and their unflinching nerves. They are now confronted with what is perhaps the severest ordeal in their history. Let us see how they will acquit themselves.

The Nazis have performed a miracle with the help of a new military technique, invented by the younger Generals and military strategists. The Allies have fallen back on their war-renowned, hoary-headed Generals, who have, however, been found wanting. Have the Nazi Generals exhausted their new technique? Have the Allies any military secrets or any new technique up their sleeves? Much will depend on the answers to these two questions.

We used to hear much of the chemical preparations of the Reichswehr (German Army). Have they really perfected a new technique of chemical warfare? If they have, then we shall get evidence of it in the days to come. And it will then be seen how men's nerves behave under those new conditions. Will they collapse as the nerves of the brave Abyssinians did when attacked by Italian aircraft? Or will the soul conquer matter?

Judged from the realistic point of view, it is difficult to realise how the war can continue, if Great Britain is overrun. The United States of America cannot go beyond a certain limit in helping the Allies, lest Japan should make trouble in the Far East. And there is no hope, whatsoever, that Sir Stafford Cripps will succeed in dividing Germany and Soviet Russia.

Since both Germany and Italy—and perhaps Soviet Russia—now regard Great Britain as Public Enemy No. 1, it is also likely that they have a plan of carving up the British Empire. In this task they may invite Japanese help and co-operation, knowing that Japan has always cast longing eyes on the entire Archipelago, from the Dutch Indies right up to Australia.

In this scheme of things, how and where does India stand? Let those who claim to be leaders of the Indian people answer this question.

## LONG LIVE DESHBANDHU!

*Subhas looked upon Deshbandhu Das as his political Guru. In the article he now published in the "Forward Bloc" on June 14, 1949 Subhas calls upon the people of India to follow the dynamic policy of Deshbandhu*

**F**IFTEEN long years have passed since Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das left this world of ours. He did not live to see his dream of a free India fulfilled but he did achieve success in some of his immediate plans. Just when people had begun expecting greater things from him death laid its cruel hand on him. He had won the confidence of his countrymen in an unmeasured degree and they had enthroned him in their hearts. Hence the mourning over his death was as universal as it was sincere. But while grieving over his untimely demise we should not forget what he did in a blaze of glory. He was not one of those unfortunate beings who outlive the period of their greatness and linger on until life begins to ebb away, turning them into reactionaries.

Today on the eve of the anniversary of his death there is one thought uppermost in our mind—"Oh friend of the Nation! In this hour of trial and tribulation India hath need of thee." We want more than ever before that rare combination of Idealism and Realism which constitutes the essence of leadership and which was the secret of his greatness. We want that unbounded love which made him a friend of the people and which drew the Muslims and the backward classes so close to him.

We want that dynamism which would not let him rest and which drove him from struggle to struggle. We want above all that all consuming passion and the main spring of all activity.

Let us pay our annual tribute of respect and gratitude to our hallowed memory. Those who want to be great have to begin life by worshipping greatness wherever they find it. Those who desire to become heroes should first learn to do hero-worship. Hence the annual function on the 16th of June is a much needed one and all sections of the people should rally together on the occasion.

## WAKE UP, INDIA!

*In the article in the 'Forward Bloc' published on May 11, 1940, Subhas again urges the nation to utilise the war situation for India's liberation*

**E**VENTS IN Europe are rapidly heading towards a crisis. The Nazi invasion of Holland, is a sure indication of the determination and ruthlessness of the present-day rulers of Germany, as well as of the speed with which they can act. What has happened since the outbreak of war has not taken us by surprise, except perhaps the Scandinavian exploits of the Nazis. In fact actual events have confirmed our prognostications to a very large extent.

In October, 1938 we began to talk publicly about the impending war-crisis in Europe. The resolution passed unanimously at the Bengal Provincial Conference at Jalpaiguri in February, 1939, gave expression to this thought and suggested the presentation of an ultimatum to the British Government on the issue of India's national demands. The Jalpaiguri resolution was brought before the Tripuri Congress on March 1939, but it was unceremoniously rejected. If it had been adopted there, the ultimatum would have been presented to the Government, preparations for the national struggle would have begun in right earnest, and on the expiry of the stipulated period of six months, the national struggle would have been launched. But nothing of the kind happened. On the contrary, the Congress Working Committee launched the offensive against the Left Wing. This drive has continued till today.

Six months after the Tripuri Congress, war broke out in Europe in September, 1939. With the outbreak of war, hopes were raised in many quarters that there would be a closing-up of the ranks, preparatory to a commencement of the struggle for freedom. The resignation of Congress Ministries in the provinces intensified these hopes, but they were soon dashed to the ground. Various arguments were advanced with a view to evading a struggle with the British Government. We, on our part, consistently and continuously urged an immediate launching of the struggle—for more reasons than one. One of the major considerations lay in the fact that in the spring of 1940, the war would

enter on a critical phase and it was but natural that we should try to time our own movement accordingly. If we wanted a crisis in India in the spring of 1940 it was necessary for us to launch the campaign a few months earlier. But our argument and our appeal did not go home. It was contended against us that when the crisis in Europe would not come till April 1940 we should not be in a hurry to start our movement.

Our leaders talked and talked, argued and argued as the months rolled by. Nothing effective was done and the spring of 1940 arrived. With the breath of spring the military activities of Germany assumed an aggressive form. One fine morning Denmark was occupied and Norway was invaded. Germany struck with lightning speed. The Allies were surprised and outmanoeuvred.

Holland has now been invaded and will probably be overrun in no time. What more surprises are in store for us—nobody can tell. People are talking of a Japanese attack on the Dutch East Indies. The Italian Army seems to be getting ready for the fray—with the Duce making bellicose speeches from the balcony of Palazzo Venezia and the crowd outside shouting—Tunisia Tunisia. The Cabinet in London is tottering after the debacle in Norway.

But what is India doing? What is the Indian National Congress doing?

Hindus and Muslims are drifting apart. The Congress Right Wing is attacking the Forward Bloc and the Kisan Sabha on their part are endeavouring to carry on without the help of the Congress High Command. The Congress High Command is undecided as to what should be done and its attitude of doubt and vacillation is proving contagious and demoralising to a degree. The Muslim League is more concerned with communal than with national problems. The cumulative effect of all these is that India as a whole is in a morass today. In the absence of a dynamic leadership the people as a whole seem to have lost their dynamism.

How can we save our country from this political rut, utilise the international crisis to India's advantage and win freedom for ourselves? This is the supreme problem of the hour.

As every day passes one feels like biting his fingers in helpless agony. Can nothing be done to save India even at this late hour? Will not the enslaved people of India cast off their lethargy, slink their pretty differences and stand up as one man to demand liberty for this great and ancient land?

We are prepared to play our humble part at this critical juncture so that we may yet be able to retrieve what we have lost and achieve

our national liberation Let the supreme executive of the Congress call upon the nation to resume the struggle We shall then fall in line with them in that great and noble task Unity within the Congress could be achieved on the basis of a dynamic programme of rational struggle And we can then make a desperate attempt to achieve Hindu-Muslim unity on a permanent and enduring basis

When Europe is in the melting-pot, who can withstand the united demand of three hundred and fifty millions of Indians Freedom is now almost within reach We have only to seize it with our united strength Shall we do so"



## WHY I LEFT INDIA

*Soon after leaving India for Kabul and Germany Subhas issued a statement explaining why he had left this country "My object in leaving India was to supplement from outside the struggle going on at home"*

I WOULD LIKE to tell you quite frankly what made me leave home and homeland on a journey that was fraught with danger of every kind. I was lodged safely in a British prison when I silently resolved to risk everything in the attempt to escape from the clutches of the British. Having been in prison eleven times it was much easier and much safer for me to continue there but I felt that the cause of India's independence demanded a journey abroad regardless of the risk that it involved.

It took me full three months of prayer and meditation to decide if I had strength enough to face death in fulfilling my duty. Before I could slip out of India, I had to get out of prison and in order to do so I had to go on hunger-strike demanding my release. I knew neither in India nor in Ireland had a prisoner succeeded in forcing the British Government to release him. I knew also that Terence MacSwiney and Jatin Das had died in the attempt to force the Government's hands. But I left convinced that I had an historic task to fulfil. So I took the plunge and after seven days of hunger strike the Government unexpectedly got unnerved and set me free with the intention of taking me back to prison again after a month or two. But before they could seize me again I became a free man.

You know that I have been actively working in the independence movement ever since I left the University in 1921. I have been through all the civil disobedience campaigns during the last two decades. In addition to this I have been repeatedly put in prison without trial on the suspicion of having been connected with secret revolutionary movements—whether non-violent or violent. In the light of this experience I came to the conclusion that all the efforts that we could put forward inside India would not suffice to expel the British from our country.

To put it briefly, therefore, my object in leaving India was to supplement from outside the struggle going on at home. On the other hand the supplementary help from outside, which the national struggle at home so urgently needs, is in reality very small. The help that our countrymen at home needed and still need is a twofold one, moral and material. Firstly, they have to be morally convinced that their victory is assured. Secondly, they have to be given military help from outside.

The time has come when I can openly tell the whole world, including our enemies, as to how it is proposed to bring about national liberation. Indians outside India, particularly Indians in East Asia, are going to organise a fighting force which will be powerful enough to attack the British Army in India. When we do so, a revolution will break out, not only among the civil population at home, but also among the Indian Army which is now standing under the British Flag. When the British Government is thus attacked from both sides—from inside India and from outside—it will collapse, and the Indian people will then regain their liberty. According to my plan, therefore, it is not even necessary to bother about the attitude of the Axis Powers towards India. If Indians outside and inside India will do their duty it is possible for the Indian people to throw the British out of India and liberate 38 million of their countrymen.

Friends, let the slogan of three million Indians in East Asia be 'Total Mobilisation for a Total war'. Out of the total mobilisation, I expect at least three lakh soldiers and three crores of dollars. I want also a unit of brave Indian women to form death-defying Regiment who will wield the sword which the brave Rani of Jhansi wielded in India's First War of Independence in 1857.

Our countrymen at home are now hard-pressed and they are demanding a second front. Give me total mobilisation in East Asia and I promise you a second front—a real second front for the Indian struggle.

## GRAVE WARNING TO BRITAIN

*On June 8 1940 Subhas issued a statement from Korseong warning the British Government not to exploit India's resources for the purposes of war*

THE RECENT statement of His Excellency the Viceroy the utterance of the Commander-in-Chief and the moves of the Provincial Governors have made it perfectly clear that at long last the British Government are going to make a really serious effort to exploit India for Britain a war purposes and this effort will be made without satisfying India's demand for Independence

Personally I am of the opinion that the British Government have felt emboldened to adopt this new policy because of the recent utterance of Mahatma Gandhi wherein he has stated clearly and unambiguously that India should not embarrass Great Britain in her hour of danger. This view is endorsed not only by Gandhian leaders but also by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. It would therefore be wrong to infer that the Congress Working Committee is indirectly responsible for the new policy of British imperialism in India.

So far as I can judge the British Government will not easily slacken their efforts in that direction. Consequently for all those who stand by the War Resolution of the Haripura Congress a serious situation has arisen. I have no doubt that if the armed forces of Great Britain happen to suffer more reverses in future the British will inevitably fall back on India more and more regardless of what the Indian public may declare.

But what interest can we have in European affairs so long as India remains enslaved? We want our independence and that too without delay. Promises made by the Government to be fulfilled at some future date will fall flat on our people. We shall judge the British in the light of what we shall get here and now. We have had enough experience of political promises that are made only to be broken. Let not the Government try to bluff us once again with high-sounding pledges.

## GRAVE WARNING TO BRITAIN

Short-sightedness has been the character of British foreign policy in recent years. It is this, more than anything else, which has brought disaster to Great Britain. I am afraid that the same short-sightedness is still hanging to the coat-tails of British politicians. They are thinking of saving Britain now with the help of India. But how can an enslaved India save England, or any country for the matter of that?

India has first to save herself. And she can save herself only if the Hindus and Muslims put forward a joint demand for a provisional national Government to whom all powers should be immediately transferred. This is the procedure followed in every revolutionary crisis in history. This provisional national government at the Centre can fit into the existing constitution with certain consequential changes made in the Government of India Act of 1935. But the provisional national government must have full sovereign power. After a time when the present crisis flows over, the provisional national government, free from British control, will convene a Constituent Assembly for framing a detailed constitution for India in keeping with her new status of independence.

The first task of the provisional national government will be to arm the Indian people as fully as possible, and also to enter into alliances with friendly foreign Powers, so that India's safety may be completely ensured under all circumstances. If these measures are adopted, we need not be afraid as a result of the military success of the Nazis in Europe. When India is free and strong to save herself, she can lend helping hand to other friendly countries.

The immediate duty of the Indians is, therefore, to stand up for the slogan—"All Power to the Indian People"—and make an immediate demand for a provisional national government vested with full sovereign powers. This demand can be made irresistible, if it be a joint demand put forward by the Hindus and Muslims of India. Can the Congress and the Muslim League agree on this issue? If they can, then they will save India once for all.

If, unfortunately, this demand is turned down, we shall have no other option but to invite the Indian masses to the path of struggle.

I respectfully warn the British Government not to seek to exploit India's resources while India remains enslaved. Let them not be led astray by the soothing words of Mahatma Gandhi or any Gandhian leader or leaders. When these leaders talk of compromise and co-operation, they do not represent Indian public opinion or the Indian masses. The suggestion now being made in some quarters that because of the Nazi successes the present war has ceased to be an imperialist war, is a puerile one and will not deceive any intelligent person in this country.

In conclusion I would request the British Government coolly to consider what consequences will follow if they endeavour to save Britain with the resources of an enslaved India. This path will not bring salvation to England—but it may bring further disaster to India. A free, strong and united India will not only save herself unaided from every conceivable danger but may also bring succour to other friendly nations including Britain. If British politicians still continue to be bankrupt, despite all our passionate appeals we shall be no party to the new policy being adopted by the Government of India, regardless of what Mahatma Gandhi may say or do.

# BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

*As is a tale, so is life, not how long it is,  
but how good it is, is what matters.*

*—Seneca.*



Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose shaking hands with Adolph Hitler,  
the Dictator of Germany

# IMMORTAL SUBHAS

By Prof. Ambarnath Chatterjee,  
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*The significance of the activities of Subhas and the ideals that inspired them are analysed in the article below*

"Do you want the fragrance of the full-blown rose? If so, you must accept the thorns. Do you want the sweetness of the smiling dawn? If so, you must live through the dark hours of the night. Do you want the joy of liberty and the solace of freedom? If so, you must pay the price. And the price of liberty is suffering and sacrifice". (Subhas Chandra Bose in a speech on 31-12-1931)

January 23, should be observed as a day of national rejoicing in India, for on that day was born at Cuttack in Orissa one of her greatest sons in modern times—Subhas Chandra Bose. Subhas was the sixth son and ninth child of his parents. His early schooling was done, first at a Christian missionary school, then at the Ravenshaw Collegiate School. His academic career was brilliant all through, generally he stood first in the class. His early ideals derived their main inspiration from his family, his headmaster at the Ravenshaw Collegiate School and the examples of Ramkrishna and Swami Vivekananda. Of his father's influence he says himself

"My father had extensive contacts with the people of Orissa, and intimate personal relations with many distinguished Oriya families. His outlook was consequently broad and his sympathies wide, and they unconsciously influenced the rest of his family. I cannot remember ever to have heard from his lips one single disparaging remark about the people of Orissa—or, for the matter of that, about the people of any other province. Though he was never effusive in his emotions and was inclined to be reserved, he could endear himself to all those who came into contact with him wherever he happened to be at the time. Such parental influences work unobtrusively, and only in later life can the children discover by a process of analysis what helped to mould their character or give their life a definite direction."



The Headmaster gave him an aesthetic and moral sense but his guiding principle of life came from Vivekananda. Vivekananda's rationalistic and practical teachings on character building and spiritual uplift gripped his heart. Ramkrishna held before him the ideals of renunciation—the renunciation of gold and sex. Indeed the young boy took these teachings into his head so seriously that he began seeking a Guru and practising concentration. As he says 'Our group—for by now we had a definite group—became interested in all the Sadhus who happened to visit the town and if any member got any information about any such visitor he would pass it on to the rest. Another significant fact of this period of Subhas's life was that before he was 16 he became interested in what may be described as village work. With his boy friends he volunteered to do some teaching in the primary schools of the neighbouring villages. In 1913 at the age of 16 Subhas passed the Matriculation Examination of Calcutta University and stood second.

The next and a very significant phase was his college life at Calcutta. He was admitted into the Presidency College—the best College in Bengal—and soon his personality, character, spiritual ideals and ideals of public service impressed and inspired all those around him. He was keen on organizing debates and hunted for boys suitable for participating in debates. One of his class fellows there was Dilip Kumar Roy—now a very well known author, artist, singer and poet. Dilip was one of his close friends. Subhas approached Dilip and urged him to join in the debates.

What I want is that our boys should learn the art of thinking quickly. And then the art of debate initiates one into the art of self-reliance which is surely a great gain. We Indians are too dependent on others—for action, views, initiative—everything. We have got to learn to stand on our own legs.

During his college life a new star rose in the sky. That was Aurobindo. Aurobindo had only a few years before he retired to Pondicherry and it was the pre-Pondicherry Aurobindo that inspired him. Giving a comparative estimate of Aurobindo Subhas says—Surendra Nath (Banerjee) was still in good form. But despite his flowery rhetoric and consummate oratory, he lacked that deeper passion which one could find in the simple word of Aurobindo. I should like to see some of you becoming great, great not for your own sake but to make India great so that she may stand up with head erect amongst the free nations of the world. Work that she might prosper, suffer that she might rejoice.

But Subhas had not yet found his political creed. During a short vacation he came home at Cuttack and collecting a group of friends went out into a village for nursing cholera patients to a cholera-stricken area. In the summer vacation he did another round of Guru-seeking.

This time, without even informing his family he left home for places of pilgrimage in Northern India—Lachman Jola, Rishikesh, Hardwar, Mathura, Brindaban, Banaras, Gaya and so on. “After an exciting experience I turned up one fine morning quite unexpectedly. I was not repentant for having taken French leave, but I was somewhat crest-fallen not having found the guru I had wanted so much. A few days later I was in bed, down with typhoid—the price of pilgrimage and guru-hunting.”

During his student life at Calcutta, Subhas became painfully aware of the humiliating position of Indians under British rule. He found that the behaviour of the Britishers and Anglo-Indians, in the streets and public conveyance, was insulting. “In the streets, in the railways, in the tram-cars, in public places and in public functions, in fact everywhere the Britisher expected the Indian to make way for him, and if he refused to do so, the Indian would be assaulted. In such cases of friction the forces of the Government were always on the side of the Britishers. Cases frequently happened in which Indians of the highest position and rank—even judges of the High Court—would be insulted in this way. During the Great War, when India was fighting on the side of England, such cases of friction between Indians and Britishers would constantly occur in the tram-cars in Calcutta. No legal or constitutional remedy could be found for such insults, for neither the police nor the subordinate law courts would venture to do justice. Then the time came when the Indians began to hit back, and when they did so, the effect was immediate and remarkable.”

The most significant episode in Subhas's college life at Calcutta was the Oaten incident. Subhas was in the third year then. The Oaten story may be read in detail in Subhas's own words in his brief autobiography. Only a few points on that incident, bearing on Subhas's character and ideals, need mention here. Professor Oaten, an Englishman, had earned a bad name among students for showing what we may call a bit of ruling-class mentality. Dilip Kumar Roy, Subhas's class-fellow, later says, “This Professor had insulted some Indian students somewhat brutally and refused to apologize. The authorities turned a deaf ear to the protests of the humiliated students. We all had a presentiment of an explosion, felt something was brewing, and the ominously grim face of Subhas, sometimes scarlet with indignation, had been much in evidence as he flitted past our college corridors to appeal to the authorities only to be met by a summary dismissal.” The students organised a strike. The English Principal fined all the absentees, without heeding the students' representation. A month later, Prof. Oaten again manhand'ed a student, and in the heat of the moment the desperate students gave a beating to Oaten. Subhas, though not even present at the scene of occurrence, was expelled from the college and then rusticated from the University. Though not directly connected with the assault before the Committee of Enquiry of the University headed by Sir

Asutosh the then Vice-Chancellor he refused to compromise his principles. He never let anybody down. He simply accepted the responsibility of a ring leader even though they could prove nothing definite against him. Still he could have got off scot free if he had only said in public that it was wrong to assault. But Subhas abhorred mincing matters which he generally equated to hypocrisy. So he only said that the students had given their foreign castigator a belabouring under great provocation. It was for this outrageous frankness that he was rusticated from Calcutta University. Referring to the incident Subhas said: "But I was not sorry—there was not a trace of regret in my mind for what I have done. I had rather a feeling of supreme satisfaction of joy that I had done the right thing that I had stood up for our honour and self respect and had sacrificed myself for a noble cause. After all what is life without renunciation I told myself. And I went to sleep. After a loss of two years he was allowed to resume his studies and joined the well known Scottish Church College of Calcutta. Philosophy was his favourite subject. He also enrolled himself in the University Training Corps. In the B.A. Examination Subhas got First Class second in Philosophy Honours.

In the autumn of 1919 Subhas went to England for the I.C.S. examination. He joined Cambridge University, here too was Dilip who was surprised that Subhas of all persons should appear for the I.C.S. examination. One day he took Dilip and a few others (among them Kshitish Chatterjee now a distinguished intellectual of Bengal) into confidence. He had decided to sit for the I.C.S. examination because otherwise he would not be sent by his father to England. So he had taken a secret vow to regain his post—that is in case he passed of course.

When Subhas came to England there were only eight months for the I.C.S. examination. However he came out fourth in the list and first with record marks in the English paper. Subhas had made up his mind. Even the persuasions of his old father and elder brother and also of the India Office could not change his resolve not to join the service. Subhas was 23 then. He wrote to his elder brother—My greatest objection to join the service was based on the fact that I would have to sign the Covenant and thereby own allegiance to a foreign bureaucracy which I feel right or wrongly has no moral right to be there. In reply to his elder brother's suggestion that he might at least join now and resign later he wrote "Once I sign the Covenant it would not matter from the point of view of principle whether I served for three days or three years. I have come to believe that compromise is a bad thing—it degrades the man and injures his cause. The reason why Surendranath Banerjee is going to end his life with loneliness and a minister'ship is that he is a worshipper of the philosophy of expediency which Edmund Burke preached. We have not come to

that stage where we can accept a philosophy of expediency. We have got to make a nation, and a nation can be made only by the uncompromising idealism of Hampden and Cromwell."

The next period, 1921 to 1940 is that of his public life in India. Subhas's role as a soldier of freedom is part of our national history, and will be written in letters of gold. It should be remembered that his prison sentences (mostly rigorous) account for much of this period. Indeed, from 1921 to 1940 he had rarely a whole year free for himself. In spite of his being persistently hounded and incarcerated by the British bureaucracy in India, Subhas did his work—in the time he was spared. We shall refer to a few significant facts bearing on his character and political wisdom.

Coming back to India Subhas found his Guru in the great C R Das. When the Swaraj Party of C R Das captured power in the Calcutta Corporation, he made Subhas the Chief Executive Officer—a prize post carrying a salary of Rs 3,000 per month. Subhas reduced his salary to half of it, even this half he kept not for himself but in order to help poor students and others. He became the Chief Executive Officer on the 20th April, 1924 and was arrested on the 25th October, 1924. "When he was arrested, he left his legacy of a monthly commitment of over one thousand rupees to his Meher, Sri Sarat Chandra Bose, who bore it ungrudgingly for many years, in addition to his own with accretion as years rolled on." In the period of six months Subhas, as the C E O under the Mayoralty of C R Das, introduced far-reaching reforms in Calcutta's civic life. Of the many reforms those which deserve particular mention are—the establishment of a Municipal Education Department, introduction of free primary education, stopping of the practice of presenting addresses to British Viceroy, Governors and officials and introduction of the practice of presenting such addresses to the national leaders of India. Subhas was arrested, kept in some prisons of India and then deported to the horrible jail of Mandalay. There his health went down, in mid-1927 he had to be released on grounds of health.

Subhas played a pioneer role in the organization of youth and working class movements in the country. (He had been a youth leader only a few years before in the Presidency College.) In this again he was actually inspired by his guru C R Das. Subhas, in close collaboration with Jawaharlal and others, took a leading part in organizing the Youth Congress, whose first session was held in Calcutta in 1927. Among the many resolutions passed the following are worthy of mention here—resolutions in favour of working class legislation, greater franchise for the peasants and workers, greater inclusion of peasants and workers in the Congress, and complete independence of India. "We see Subhas Chandra Bose working in the twenties of this century for the radicalisation of the Congress, the organization of youth, and Trade Union movement, so as to broaden the Congress on the strength of

India's manhood and on the tollers in India's fields and factories a step which carried the Congress forward on the path of struggle

The Independence Resolution of Lahore Congress (1929) is well known. It was the crowning triumph of the agitation of the Independence League so ably sponsored by Subhas and Jawaharlal. It is interesting to note however that in Lahore Session Subhas desired to move an amendment to the Independence Resolution to the effect that independence should be defined in terms of political and economic freedom of the masses in order that they may be enthused to make the requisite sacrifices in the freedom struggle but the amendment was defeated. It may be noted that while even Jawaharlal his close colleague did not lend his valuable support to this vital amendment we find him regretting seven years later that after the Independence Resolution was passed we were still in the darkness as to how and where to begin and full of doubt about our programme. In 1930, 1931 and 1932 Subhas was mostly in jail. Early in 1933 he left for Vienna while still in detention on grounds of health which had broken down completely. He was in Europe for more than three years. Though he had gone for recouping his health he was not idle there. Abroad he took a forward step by establishing centres in different European capitals for promoting politico-cultural contacts between India and Europe. He also wrote the Indian Struggle there. From his sick bed in Europe he expressed his extreme displeasure at the suspension of the Civil Disobedience Movement by Gandhiji in 1933. That Jawaharlal too felt very bitter at this act of Gandhiji all readers of his remarkable autobiography know. Subhas in his written address as the President of the All Parties Conference in London where he was not allowed to proceed said among other things: By suspending the Civil Disobedience Movement at a critical hour work was suffering and the sacrifice of the nation for the last thirteen years are virtually undone. On 3rd April 1935 at Geneva Subhas had an interview with Romain Rolland on the Indian problem in course of which he spoke convincingly of the need of a radical party identifying itself with the interests of peasants and workers. About Gandhiji I ventured the remark that the Mahatma would not take a definite stand on the economic issues. Whether on political or social or economic questions he was temperamentally a believer in the golden mean. It did not afford us any satisfaction I said to oppose him or even criticize him—when he had done more for his country than anyone else in recent history and had raised India considerably in the estimation of the whole world. But we loved our country more than any person its.

On 8th April 1936 Subhas landed at Lorient and was immediately arrested. After about a year he was released. The Congress meantime under the leadership of Gandhiji had decided to work the Provincial Autonomy part of the 1935 Act. Subhas' Presidential speech

at Haripura (1938) is a very lucid and masterly analysis of all aspects of the political situation and of the duties of the Congress ahead. Subhas was re-elected President of the Tripuri Congress by an overwhelming majority of votes, "but unfortunately the event, unique in the annals of the Congress, provoked a crisis within the organization. Gandhiji observed that Subhas's victory was his defeat. The members of the Congress Working Committee resigned, saying that they did not desire to stand in the way of Subhas Bose having new colleagues for the execution of his policy and programme. Subhas, from his sick-bed at Tripuri declared in March, 1939, with an almost prophetic foresight, that an imperialist war would break out in Europe within the next six months, that Congress should deliver a six months' ultimatum to Britain, and in the event of its rejection, should launch a country-wide struggle for **Purna Swaraj**. This advice however went unheeded, and further the constitutional right of the President to nominate his own Working Committee was sought to be curtailed through a resolution asking the duly and democratically elected President to nominate his colleagues on the advice of Mahatma Gandhi. Subhas Bose planning for unity of action was anxious to have a composite Cabinet representing all groups in Congress in view of the crisis to which the world was heading, but Gandhiji and the old members of the Working Committee championed the cause of a homogeneous cabinet. Despite Pandit Nehru's mediation Subhas's efforts to form a composite cabinet as the *sine qua non* for an effective national struggle proved unavailing. Subhas, when he found that he had not the liberty to nominate even three colleagues of his choice on the Working Committee, decided it was futile in the circumstances to continue as Congress President, while unable to carry his point of view or implement his policy and programme.

Subhas was virtually forced to resign his high office in April, 1939. In May he founded the Forward Bloc for rallying all the anti-imperialistic forces in the country. Very soon he was removed by the Congress High Command from the Presidentship of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and debarred from holding any elective office in Congress for three years. Subhas accepted the resolution unperturbed. He appealed to all fellow-fighters to go ahead undeterred and to be ready for the final assault on the imperialist citadel. The war came in September 1939. Though the Congress ministries in the provinces resigned, the Congress virtually sat idle, carrying on negotiations with the British Viceroy. But this policy, as Subhas had predicted, paid no dividends, and three years later, in August 1942, the struggle had to be started, but meantime the golden opportunity had slipped. Anyway, the British Government clapped Subhas within the prison-bars on 2nd July, 1940. After a hunger-strike for several days, (during which period he wrote his 'political testament' to the nation in the form of a letter to the Governor of Bengal, dated November 26, 1940) was taken to his own house. On 26th January 1941, the Independence Day,

he escaped from home though he was watched day and night by the redoubtable C I D of Calcutta

Now begins the most significant phase of his life—the I N A phase. The story of his thrilling escape from India and of his intentions of going out is told in detail by Uttam Chand Subhas's secret host in Kabul. We should say here a few words on Subhas's motives for going out of India for till the famous I N A trials revealed the actual story his motives were misinterpreted in certain circles in India which swallowed the British propaganda against Subhas. It will appear from Uttam Chand's account that Subhas's plan was to go to Moscow and not to Berlin or Rome for he positively hated Hitlerism or fascism. To come to the story of his escape from India Bhagat Ram (whose brother had once attempted to shoot the Punjab Governor) secretly escorted Subhas from Peshawar to Kabul.

Explaining his mission to Uttam Chand, he said—I have brought Subhas Chandra Bose here to smuggle him across the border to Russia. Said Subhas himself to Uttam Chand—'It has long been my intention to go to Moscow. For many days no proper arrangements could be made. The party which had promised to arrange my escape to Moscow wanted to smuggle me out of India two months ago. But it was impossible for me to get out of India then.

Repeated efforts, to get help from the Russian Embassy at Kabul failed. It appeared to Subhas that the preparation by Bhagat Ram had been faulty. When Bhagat Ram lost hope in the Russian Ambassador, he tried to contact the Italian Ambassador but even then he told Uttam Chand—*If you have any contacts with the Russian Legation, to arrange for Bose Babu to be sent to Moscow for though we have established contacts with the Axis, Bose Babu is not happy about going to Berlin or Rome.* (It may be recalled that the Axis then were fighting England and not Russia). Subhas himself said to Uttam Chand—I have not yet given up the idea of going to Moscow. If we have contacted the Italians it is only because we have been compelled to do so and again "I am not quite happy about going to Berlin or Rome. But there is no choice. What we have done is sheer desperation. He earnestly requested Uttam Chand—You have been living here for such a long time. If you have any contacts with the Russian Embassy, do arrange an interview for me with the Russian Ambassador. Even if everything is fixed up with the Italian Ambassador and the Russians decide to accept me, I shall change my plans. But the efforts of Subhas's secret helpers failed.

He tried to contact the Russian Embassy without success. It transpired that Uttam Chand could manage that through a German national in Kabul who could approach the Russian Ambassador only through the German Ambassador. But Subhas disliked the idea for he

"did not want the Axis Embassies to know that we were trying to contact the Russians" As regards his object of going to Russia, he said that he wanted to obtain Russian help in the liberation of India "I want to persuade the Russians to help us If I fail in this, I can always do anti-British propaganda If I stayed back in India the Government would have kept me in prison for the duration of the war And I am sure, all the big leaders of the country will also be put in prison I preferred to escape and do whatever I can for the independence of my country, rather than rot in prison He was convinced that foreign help was necessary for the liberation of India from British yoke, for "even Russia owes her revolution to Germany and America won her independence with the help of France," and again "Today Russia is the only country which can help to liberate India No other country will help us That is why I do not want to go anywhere else but to Moscow If India does not win the freedom during this war, she will not be able to get it for another fifty years, unless, of course, a bloody revolution takes place sooner When at last nothing could be arranged with the Russian Embassy, Subhas one day said that he must in any case get out of "this wretched hole" (his hiding place in Uttam Chand's shop at Kabul), and added, "if you (Uttam Chand) have somebody who can escort me to the Russian border, I would rather risk rotting in a Russian prison than stagnate here At least there is some hope of reaching Moscow through Russian prisons" There was the danger in Subhas's staying at Kabul for an indefinite period, for British Secret Agents were busy there Meantime, passport from Italian Embassy came and Subhas decided not to tarry any longer Two Germans and one Italian took him to Berlin Uttam Chand's final observations on Subhas's going away are pertinent

"For forty-five days Bose Babu was with me, and not once during this period, did I hear one good word for the Axis from his lips He hated them as much as the British I am sure when he reached Berlin, he must have made another attempt to get to Russia, through the Russian Embassy But he must have failed again and the declaration of the Russo-German war must have finally dashed his hopes of reaching Russia He reached Berlin on March 28, 1941 (when Germany and Russia were allies) and on June 22, 1941 the Russo-German War was (suddenly) declared"

Thus, unfortunately, Subhas could not get into Russia, according to his plan However, as one who never lost faith in his ideals and the courage to act up to them he set to work in the circumstances in which fate put him In his radio speech to India from Berlin after he reached there he said—"Britain's paid propagandists have been calling me an enemy agent I need no credentials when I speak to my own people My whole life is one long persistent, uncompromising struggle against British Imperialism, and is the best guarantee of my bona



sides All my life I have been the servant of India. Until the last hour of my life I shall remain one. My allegiance and loyalty have ever been and will ever be to India alone no matter in which part of the world I may live

Coming to East Asia he inspired the I N A to become an Indian fighting force for national liberation as the second front of India's war of emancipation. The I N A under the stress of circumstances could not be very well equipped. Netaji said: Revolutionary armies all over the world—whether in Ireland or Italy or Russia or elsewhere—have to fight under similar conditions everywhere they have won at the end. So also shall we. But we shall first have to pay for our liberty with our blood. He formed the Provisional Government of Azad Hind for the purpose of launching and directing the final struggle for India's freedom. In setting up this Provisional Government he said 'we are on the one hand meeting the exigencies of the Indian situation, and are on the other following in the footsteps of history. In recent times the Irish people set up their Provisional Government in 1916. The Czechs did the same during the last World War. The Turks under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal set up their Provisional Government in Anatolia.

It should be particularly remembered that Netaji refused to accept any money from the Japanese or any foreign power for the I N A. The money came from the Indians in East Asia. Netaji by organizing the Indian Independence League all over East Asia was able to instil a spirit of patriotism in the heart of every Indian, rich and poor alike, from whom voluntary contributions flowed in freely. A large number of Indians among whom were included members of almost every community gave their all to the Azad Hind Fauz and became 'fakirs' for the sake of their country. Whole families joined the I N A—father in the I N A, Fauj, mother in Rani of Jhansi Regiment and little children in Balasena. *Karo sab Nehawar, Bano sab fakir* was the slogan that Netaji gave them and men like Habib Baidi, Khanna and numerous others willingly gave all their fortunes amounting to several lakhs to the Azad Hind Government and became fakirs. A total sum of 20 crores was collected and deposited in the Azad Hind Bank, Rangoon. Rich and moneyed people were not the only ones that contributed. In fact the greater proportion of our funds was donated by comparatively poor people. Netaji not only got what he demanded but much more. Even the rich gave their all. It was one Mr. Habib, a wealthy merchant of Rangoon who gave all his property amounting to nearly a crore of rupees for one garment belonging to Netaji. The I N A thus raised its own money by the magnetic inspiration of Netaji.

In a broadcast to India on June 26, 1945 Netaji urged Indian leaders not to participate in the Simla Conference of Wavell—the new trap of

the British Government In this speech he said about the I N A about which the Britishers were making filthy propaganda—"This army, the Azad Hind Fauz, has been trained by Indian instructors for using the Indian language This Army carries India's National Flag and its slogans are India's national slogans This Army has its own Indian Officers and its own officers' training schools run entirely by Indians And, in the field of battle, this army fights under its own Indian commanders, some of whom have now reached the rank of Generals If one talks of a puppet army then it is the British Indian Army that should be called a puppet army, because it is fighting Britain's imperialist war under British officers I am not ashamed to take the help of Nippon I shall go further and say that if the once almighty British empire can go round the world with the begging bowl and can go down on its knees in order to obtain help from the U S A , there is no reason why we, an enslaved and disarmed nation, should not take help from our friends Today we may be taking the help of Nippon, tomorrow we shall not hesitate to take help from any other quarter—if that be possible, and if that be desirable, in the best interests of India Nobody would be more happy than myself if we could achieve India's independence without foreign help of any sort But I have yet to find one single instance in modern history where an enslaved nation has achieved its liberation without foreign help of any sort " -

In his address, dated July 6, 1944 to Gandhiji, he said "Regarding the war aims of the U S A I may say that the ruling clique at Washington is now dreaming of world-domination This ruling clique and its intellectual exponents talk openly of the American century" In this ruling clique there are extremists who go so far as to call Britain the 49th State of the U S A " At the end of this public speech at the Mausoleum of Bahadur Shah in Rangoon, he quoted a couplet composed by Bahadur Shah himself

"Ghaziyon men bu rahagi Jab talak iman ki,  
Tab to London tak chalegi tegh Hindustan ki "

'As long as the last particle of faith exists in the souls of India's freedom-fighters, the sword of India shall continue to penetrate the heart of London '

That was the stuff of which Netaji was made Netaji's words to his men on the march are unforgettable and bear repetition here—  
" There, in the distance, beyond that river, beyond those jungles, beyond those hills, lies the promised land—the soil from which we sprang the land to which we shall now return Haik' India is calling Blood is calling to blood Get up, we have no time to lose Take up your arms we shall carve our way through the enemy's ranks, or if God wills, we shall die a martyr's death And in our last

sleep we shall kiss the road that will bring our Army to Delhi The road to Delhi is the road to Freedom Chalo Delhi'

When the full and real story of the I N A was known to the Indian people after the epic trial at Delhi a wave of unprecedented national enthusiasm surged throughout India among all classes of people This affected even members of the British Indian Army Navy and Air Force (the Navy Mutiny at Bombay is evidence of that) The main pillar of British rule in India got cracked for the first time This was admitted even by the British Government. Mr Attlee as the British Premier said in Parliament on March 15 1946— I am quite certain that at the present time the tide of nationalism is running very fast in India and indeed all over Asia and today I think that the national idea has spread right through, and not the least perhaps among some of those soldiers who had done such wonderful services in the war It may be recalled that this was exactly what Netaji had predicted. In a speech at a huge mass rally in front of the municipal offices at Rangoon on July 9 1943 explaining the object of the I N A formed just then he had said that the I N A exploits would create a revolution not only among the civil population at home but also among the Indian Army which is now standing under the British Flag The I N A thus put the last death seal on the British rule in India

Such was Subhas With whom shall we compare him? We do not know if he is living today we wish he were for we badly need him today in India to purify our public life and lead us to prosperity

# SUBHAS' CONCEPTION OF INDEPENDENT INDIA

By Kali Chandra Ghosh

*The writer of this article quotes chapter and verse to show the type of political and economic structure for which Subhas would have worked in independent India*

SUBHAS BOSE is known to his contemporaries and the generations next succeeding him for impetuosity of youth, dauntless courage, working up to his convictions against odds with reckless abandon. This stormy petrel of India would leave the co-workers behind and carry the torch of freedom with single-minded devotion in the dark horizon where the trails of vanishing light of suffering and sacrifice of the pathfinders showed the dismal way strewn with the mangled corpses and broken bones of the unknown and unnamed martyrs of India that had gone before him. A day might come sooner or later when people would think of him just a fighter without having any contribution to the future economic and social structure of the country and having evolved nothing of the politico-economic doctrine that would guide the future destiny of his Motherland.

Truly speaking, he was far ahead of his times in such matters and the dreams of his hectic and militant days and the expressions of his ideas during this period from time to time earned for him the appellation of a visionary with Utopian ideas. He has been termed a Fascist, a Socialist, a Marxist and some other 'ist' to suit the convenience of his political detractors, especially those of the Conservative Party of the United Kingdom. But there is nothing confusing in Subhas Chandra's political views or ideals so far as India was concerned and as, in his opinion, India is an epitome of the world,

"through her the world-problems are struggling for a solution. When the synthesis of cultures and federation of self-governing states become a fact accomplished in India—it will be an object lesson to all the nations of the world."

He stood for freedom in every sphere of life but he would wait for the Government based on any particular doctrine till independence of India was achieved. His conception of freedom as applied to the social and economic conditions of the masses, the women, the peasants and the labour etc. give a clue to the shape of things he had in his heart. With him freedom was another name for

freedom for the rich as well as for the poor freedom for all individuals and for all occasions

It implied

not only emancipation from political bondage but also equal distribution of wealth abolition of caste barriers and social inequalities and destruction of communalism and religious intolerance

It was a freedom for all sections for all minorities and for all individuals. In a general way freedom equality and fraternity to him were one and indivisible. He has explained his views in some detail and one can make a fairly comprehensive idea of what he stood for. In free India

"Women will have to be given an equal status with men in law as well as in social matters. the social barriers which put the brand of inferiority on certain sections of castes owing to their birth will have to be ruthlessly demolished. the inequalities of wealth which stand in the way of the social advancement will have to be removed and equal opportunities for education and development will have to be given to all for shouldering the responsibility of reconstructing society and of carrying on the administration. In society in the body politic and in the economic world each individual should be as free as any other and should enjoy the same status

To sum up

Equal opportunities for all equitable distribution of wealth abolition of all social barriers including caste and emancipation from foreign rule—these should be some of the basic principles of the new society we want to build

The State is to enforce these principles and to embody them in its constitution. He refused to give a particular name to the new order but it is more akin to socialism than to any other political doctrine. In enumerating a probable programme of the future socialist party he envisaged a form of democracy something different from its mid-Victorian conception controlled by a strong party and held together by military discipline. He advocated abolition of landlordism and nationalization of land welfare of the peasants and workers, the state planning of industries and agriculture, a new and improved monetary credit system, and unification of all the radical organizations under a national executive. It would be a Federal Government with a strong

Centre "with dictatorial powers for some years to come, in order to put India on her feet". When this was published he was forthwith assailed in India and outside as a Fascist in the making.

Subhas Chandra did not accept Pandit Jawaharlal's views that "there is no middle road between Fascism and Communism". Panditji was in favour of a modified form of Communism, because Fascism was to him "nothing more than a crude and brutal effort of the present capitalist order to preserve itself at any cost", while "the basic ideology of Communism and its scientific interpretation of history" seemed to be very 'sound'. But the very fact that Communism is against nationalism of any sort, it ran counter to the ideal of the Congress, which stands for national liberation. It would be very difficult for the masses of the people to accept the Russian model based for its antagonism against religion and moreover the materialistic interpretation of history on which the communist theory mainly depends would find a rather lukewarm support in India. Further if there has been a large contribution in the domain of very large scale state planning and its successful execution, the communists have signally failed in evolving any plan for solving the monetary problem of the world. It will be worse than useless in treading the Russian way to communism and adding more confusion when it is there in plenty.

What is more remarkable is that in some main features there is great similarity between Communism and Fascism inasmuch as both support the State's supremacy over individuals and both are against 'parliamentary democracy' in the management of the State. While both of them put much faith on planned industrial organization, they are for ruthless suppression of dissenting minorities with implicit faith in the dictatorship of their respective parties for the advancement of ideals they respectively stand for. If the two apparently opposed political creeds hold so many important features in common, it is not unlikely "that the next phase in world history will produce a synthesis between Communism and Fascism". And as India has seen the fusion of many cultures and creeds it would be nothing surprising if an experiment of such a great moment to the whole world is made and consummated on the soil of India,

"especially when we have seen with our own eyes that another experiment (that of Mahatmaji) made in India has roused profound interest all over the world."

Subhas Chandra was an out and out 'Nationalist' and if any 'ism' is to be attached to his views it was 'nationalism'. His fight was against 'Imperialism', or rather 'World Imperialism' as he would say.

"Ours is a struggle not only against British Imperialism—but against world imperialism as well, of which the former is the keystone. We are, therefore, fighting not for the cause of India alone but of humanity as well."

and he would place Indian independence on the top of all his political programmes and activities simply because

### INDIA FREED MEANS HUMANITY SAVED

He would warn everybody trying to raise false issues and thus weaken the force of India's struggle every aspect of human life could be taken into consideration when India was freed.

To an enslaved nation it is absolutely impossible to even think of reconstructing the Indian society on the basis of socialism or otherwise. Insurmountable difficulties are likely to be raised by interested parties and there may be division in our ranks over issues that are of secondary importance in comparison with India's political emancipation. Before everything else we would first secure the right to shape our own destiny. Because

as long as India lies prostrate at the feet of Britain that right will be denied us. It is therefore the paramount duty not only of nationalists but of all anti-nationalistic communists to bring about the political emancipation of India as early as possible. When political freedom has been attained it will then be time to consider seriously the problem of social and economic reconstruction.

Everybody irrespective of his political creed or dogma according to Subhas should put his shoulder to the wheel of progress. There was a great deal of misconception regarding internationalism and some had reached a ridiculous length. He held very strong views over this stage of our struggle and had expressed it in very strong language.

to introduce fresh cleavage within our ranks by talking openly of class war and working for it appears to me at the present moment to be a crime against Nationalism. To what fruits we may be reduced by a mal-assimilation of Karl Marx and Bakunin becomes manifest when we come across a certain class of Indian labourers (or communists if you call them so) who openly advocate the use of British or foreign cloth on the plea of Internationalism.

To his young friends the advocates of Internationalism he says

I think it necessary to warn my countrymen and my young friends in particular about the attack that is being made on Nationalism from more than one quarter. From the point of view of Cultural Internationalism Nationalism is sometimes assailed as selfish and aggressive. It is also regarded as a hindrance to the promotion of Internationalism in the domain of culture."

The reply is worthy of Subhas and discloses the high regard he cherished for Indian Nationalism.

"My reply to the charge is that Indian nationalism is neither narrow nor selfish nor aggressive. It is inspired by the highest

ideals of the human race, viz., Satyam, (The True), Shivam (The Good), Sundarim (The Beautiful) Nationalism in India has instilled into us truthfulness, honesty, manliness and the spirit of service and sacrifice "

He goes still further and ascribes greater achievements to our increasing tempo of nationalism

"What is more, it has roused the creative faculties which for centuries had been lying dormant in our people, and as a result we are experiencing a renaissance in the domain of Indian Art. Without the magic touch of the breath of liberty, what would have been the fate of our art and culture?"

In defending his stand against the attack on nationalism from the point of view of International Labour or International Communism he called such a move as "not only ill-advised, but unconsciously it serves the interests of our alien rulers." In his views the relationship of Nationalism and Internationalism was one of interdependence and not of antagonism.

"Nationalism is not in any way opposed to Internationalism, the latter rather presupposed the former."

But this is only possible under a quite different set of circumstances. A firm believer in Internationalism he maintained,

"that the approach to Internationalism whether in the cultural or in the political sphere is possible only when distinctive cultures have first been produced or separate nationalities brought into existence. The fabric of Internationalism can be built only on a federal basis and federations—we shall all agree—exemplify the principle of unity in diversity."

He was the votary of a splendid idea and his "conception of Internationalism was a federation of cultures on one side and federation of nationalities on the other."

"The dominant ideals to-day, as I see them are the federation of self-governing nations in political sphere and the federation of cultures in cultural sphere. And the world problem to-day is to bring the federation of men and a synthesis or solution of this problem only when she has solved her national problem."

He was for ordered progress in the social and economic sphere. He would bestow thought on the model of our political structure when we have attained our freedom. In the meantime he was for one 'ism' and that is 'Leftism', the one creed that would hasten the approach of our political emancipation. In reply to 'What is Leftism?' his reply is

"The present age is the anti-imperialist phase of our movement



Our main task in this age is to end Imperialism and win national independence for the Indian people. When freedom comes the age of national reconstruction will commence and that will be socialist phase of our movement. In the present phase of our movement leftists will be those who will wage an uncompromising fight with Imperialism. Those who will waver and vacillate in their struggle against Imperialism—those who tend towards a compromise with it—cannot by any means be Leftists.

In the next passage Subhas Chandra replies to the query as to the form of socio political structure which was nearest to his heart

In the next phase of our movement, leftism will be synonymous with Socialism—but in the present phase the words Leftists and Anti Imperialists should be interchangeable

Even if Subhas was for what Socialism connotes he always deprecated the idea of saying the last word on the issue. He held that there can be no finality in the matter. To Pandit Jawaharlal's views of India going in for some sort of Communism Subhas would say

Unless we are at the end of the process of evolution or unless we deny evolution altogether there is no reason to hold that our choice is restricted to two (Fascism and Communism) alternatives

Subhas was assailed from time to time according to the convenience of his opponents, for holding such views as never were his own but for what was attributed to him. While in Europe in 1933 he was said to have turned a Fascist. He strongly repudiated the charge and maintained that while it was imperatively necessary for everybody to study all the modern movements abroad it was equally necessary for Indians to chalk out the future lines of the progress in conformity with our past history and our present and future requirements. In this respect India has a special advantage in her favour because

the geographical and intellectual isolation which India has enjoyed for centuries should enable us to adopt a sympathetic but critical attitude towards other lands and nations

As regards the internal and external policies that India should adopt he was against acceptance of any particular dogma in toto because every nation must choose for herself the form which suits her best. The principle which is to be adopted is that

no standpoint or theory in socio political affairs can be the last word in human wisdom. The socio political theories and institutions of men in nations at the present of their history are experiments and need. They are liable to change or develop just as human life is. Moreover it should be remembered that some of the most interesting institutions of the present day are still under experiments.

## SUBHAS' CONCEPTION OF INDEPENDENT INDIA

"Time must elapse before they could be declared to be successful and in the meantime we should not mortgage our intellect anywhere "

India, a land of hoary antiquity, has experimented with what may be termed as the most modern of occidental institutions such as Democracy and even Communism. The principle of democracy was applied in India in the Government of villages and towns and the election of the ruling chief by the vote of the whole clan was very common in certain parts of the country, and there are communities in India, such as the Khasis of Assam, where "private property as an institution does not exist even to-day

Therefore, it is unwise and hasty to declare in favour of one or the other political theories and the view that Subhas held had always been that

"India's task is to work out syntheses of all that is useful and good in the different movements that we see to-day. For this purpose we should have to study with critical sympathy all the movements and experiments that are going on in Europe and America, and we would be guilty of folly if we ignore any movement or experiment because of any preconceived bias or predilection "

He declared his considered opinion that

"it is not proper to take any school of thought as unmistakable and absolute truth. We must not forget that the Russians, the main disciples of Karl Marx have not blindly followed his ideas and finding it difficult to apply his theories they have adopted a new economic policy consistent with possession of private property and ownership of business factories. It would be, therefore, folly to rely for enlightenment of thoughts on Russia "

He concludes,

"We shall build our own society and politics according to our own ideals and according to our needs. This should be the aim and object of every Indian "

His ideas which represent in substance the views of the progressive thinkers of every land where free thinking has its full play, are taking shape in Independent India. The Indian Constitution embodies the idea of Justice social, economic and political, Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship. Equality of status and of opportunity and Fraternity amongst all classes and individuals. India has become the experimental ground of many creeds and dogmas and every thought holding its sway over a considerable part of the world population is leaving its impress on the minds of the people of a Sovereign Democratic Republic that India is. It is a member of the Commonwealth of Nations with its predominantly British character with the British Crown as the

binding force against disintegration. It has been able to produce a moderating effect on the deliberations of the United Nations Organisation where contending views prevent smooth proceedings and any tangible result. It has maintained huge financial relations with the U.S.A. which do not and cannot tolerate the name and the shadow of Communism and which overawes the un — and under-developed countries of the world with its Dollar Imperialism. It can dangle before the nations which have no faith in the independent status of their own the hopes of help in gold and steel and other material supplies including food and raiment. India unperturbed has maintained friendship with the communist world without identifying itself with the ideas that are anti-democratic from every point of view. Yet its neutrality has been respected by all nations irrespective of the peculiar notions they hold for themselves.

It may be that a closer tie with communist China of sixty-one million souls with a large measure of support of the United Kingdom the Mother of Parliamentary Democracy will bring about a synthesis of Communist Dictatorship with Capitalist Democracy on the soils of India. When this is attained then we will find Netaji's prophecy fulfilled that a Free India has been able to save Humanity from incalculable misery and utter ruin.

# SUBHAS AND THE SCHEDULED CASTES

By S. L. Wadwalkar

*A leader of the Scheduled Castes quotes from Subhas' speeches and writings to prove that Subhas stood for the abolition of untouchability and the caste system and for complete social and economic freedom, as also freedom from antediluvian traditions and superstitions*

AS a member of the Scheduled Castes, most of whom belong to working classes and the landless peasantry, I used to take keen interest in following the youth movement in India, launched by Mr Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose. During my youth I used to read their speeches at Youth Conferences with great enthusiasm, and was greatly struck by the idealism which inspired their activities. When Subhas was elected President of Haripura Congress, I made it a point to see him and discuss with him the position of the Scheduled Castes under Independent India. And so I along with some of my friends saw him after a mass meeting at Azad Maidan. He told me then quite frankly that as a social revolutionary it would be his first duty to raise the social and economic status of the most down-trodden classes. Independence would have no meaning, he said, if the present social and economic structure was allowed to continue. He specifically referred to the resolution brought before the Central Legislative Assembly by Lala Lajpat Rai recommending that a crore of rupees should be sanctioned for the uplift of the Depressed Classes. That resolution, Subhas said, was defeated by Government with the help of the official and nominated members. That attitude of Government showed, he said, the concern that the foreign Government had for the Depressed Classes and the hypocritical sympathy they showed for them. If they had real desire for the welfare of the Depressed Classes they would have welcomed such a resolution. What the British were trying to do, he said, was to exploit the social divisions in India to buttress their own rule and to use them to keep India under subjection. In Independent India, we would sanction not one crore, but ten or even twenty crores to remove untouchability and to bring the Depressed Classes on level with the

other communities. The Depressed Classes belong mostly to the landless peasantry and the working classes and we are determined to see to the abolition of Zamindari and to the handing over of land to the tillers of the soil. Further he said, we are determined to establish control over capitalism on such a way as to put an end to the present ruthless exploitation of labour involving long hours of work, low wages and bad housing conditions. He then gave me a number of pamphlets and copies of his speeches which make an interesting study today. On the question of communal problems his ideas were logical, clear-cut and scientific. Communal fanaticism according to him arose out of social isolation, ignorance and superstition. The remedy for that was to break down social isolation and to remove ignorance and superstition by spread of secular and scientific education. In his speech at the Maharashtra Provincial Conference held at Poona on May 3, 1928 he made this point clear when he said:

While I do not condemn any patch up work that may be necessary for healing up communal strains I would urge the necessity of discovering a deeper remedy for our communal troubles. It is necessary for the different religious groups to be acquainted with the traditions, ideals and history of one another because cultural intimacy will pave the way towards communal peace and harmony. I venture to think that the fundamental basis of political unity between different communities lies in cultural rapprochement and as things stand to-day the different communities inhabiting India are too exclusive. In order to facilitate cultural rapprochement a dose of secular and scientific training is necessary. Fanaticism is the greatest thorn in the path of cultural intimacy and there is no better remedy for fanaticism than secular and scientific education. This sort of education is useful in another way in that it helps to rouse our economic consciousness. The dawn of economic consciousness spells the death of fanaticism. There is much more in common between a Hindu peasant and a Muslim peasant than between a Muslim peasant and a Muslim Zamindar. The masses have only got to be educated wherein their economic interests lie and once they understand that they will no longer consent to be pawns in communal funds. By working from cultural, educational and economic side we can gradually undermine fanaticism and thereby render possible the growth of healthy nationalism in this country.

Subhas was a champion of freedom and equality in the broadest and widest sense of the term. He stood for breaking down every barrier—custom, tradition, belief—that interfered with the fullest freedom of man as man. He therefore stood for complete abolition of the caste system, capitalism, Zamindari and every other social institution that came in the way of freedom and equality. He assumed the leadership of the youth movement because he fully believed that the youth of India was best suited to break down these social and economic barriers. His definition of youth movement was interesting. It was not merely

composed of young men and women, but young men and women, who were inspired with the zeal for changing the present social order and inaugurating a new social order, in which social injustices would find little or no place. In his speech as chairman of the Reception Committee of the All-India Youth Congress held at Calcutta on December 25, 1928, under the presidency of Mr K F Nariman, he said:

“A youth association is characterised by a feeling of dissatisfaction with the present order accompanied by a vision of the new order. Youth movements are not reformist in outlook but revolutionary. A feeling of restlessness, of impatience with the present order, must come into existence before any youth movement can start. Personally, I do not consider the youth movement of to-day to be a twentieth century phenomenon or an accidental phenomenon. This is true of every age, of every clime. From the time of Socrates and Buddha, men have been inspired by vision of a better world and under that inspiration have endeavoured to reconstruct society. The youth movements of the modern age are characterised by similar visions and similar efforts. Whether it is Bolshevism in Russia or Fascism in Italy,—or the Young Turk Movement in Turkey—whether it is movement in China or in Persia or in Germany, everywhere you will find the same impulse, the vision and objective. Wherever the older generation of leaders have failed, youth have become self-conscious, and have taken upon themselves the responsibility of reconstructing society and guiding it on towards a better and nobler state of existence.”

It will be seen from the above that the youth movement had little to do with the age of those participating in it. It was mainly concerned with idealism which is supposed to be the privilege of the youth. It was further concerned with the need for removing the evils of society. In his autobiography he mentions that Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Keshab Chandra Sen, the great reformers, wielded a tremendous influence on his family. He himself, came under the influence of Swami Vivekananda at quite an early age and Swami Vivekananda, as is well-known, stood for the abolition of the caste system. In his autobiography Subhas writes with great admiration regarding Vivekananda, and the new turn that he gave to Subhas's life.

“I was barely fifteen when Vivekananda entered my life. Then there followed a revolution within and everything was turned upside down. It was, of course, a long time before I could appreciate the full significance of his teachings or the greatness of his personality, but certain impressions were stamped indelibly on my mind from the outset. Both from his portraits as well as from his teachings, Vivekananda appeared before me as a full-blown personality. Many of the questions which vaguely stirred my mind, and of which I was to become conscious later on, found in him a satisfactory solution.”

The revolutionary transformation that Vivekananda's writings effected in Subhas is vividly described in his autobiography thus: "I was rapidly changing and was no longer the goody-goody boy afraid of displeasing his parents. I had a new ideal before me now which had inflamed my soul—to effect my own salvation and to serve humanity by abandoning all worldly desires and breaking away all undue restraints."

The teachings of Vivekananda so radically affected Subhas that he took to defying the caste system and as a result came into conflict with authorities both at home and outside. In his autobiography he gives some instances of such defiance. Here is one:

"Though the atmosphere in which I grew up was on the whole liberalizing there were occasions when I was forced into a clash with social or family conventions. I remember one incident when I was about fourteen or fifteen. A class friend of mine who was a neighbour of ours invited some of us to dinner. My mother came to know of it and gave instructions that no one was to go. It might have been because he belonged to a lower caste or simply because on medical grounds it was considered inadvisable to dine out. And it is true that very rarely did we go anywhere for dinner. However I regarded my mother's orders as unjustified and felt a peculiar pleasure in defying them."

It is well known that in his early youth Subhas was greatly attracted by mysticism and visited a large number of places of pilgrimage. During one such visit he found at an inn that the owner made a distinction between him and others who were taking their dinner. He strongly resented this and defied the custom. Since then he made up his mind to do all he could to remove such distinctions between one Indian and another. Once a Muslim friend of his invited him for dinner but his parents would not allow him to go. He brushed aside their orders and had his dinner with his Muslim friend. Sympathy for the poor and down-trodden was inborn in him. Of this he gives an interesting instance:

"I sometimes wonder how at a particular psychological moment a small incident can exert a far-reaching influence on our life. In front of our house in Calcutta an old decrepit beggar woman used to sit every day and beg for alms. Every time I went out or came in I could not help seeing her. Her sorrowful countenance and her tattered clothes pained me whenever I looked at her or even thought of her. By contrast I appeared to be so well-off and comfortable that I used to feel like a criminal. What right had I — I used to think — to be so fortunate to live in a three-storied house when this miserable beggar woman had hardly a roof over her head and practically no food or clothing?"

It was this same spirit that later influenced his writings and speeches so cardinally. Going through these past records one is surprised at

the earnestness and sincerity with which he pleads for breaking down social stratification. As an instance may be quoted an extract from his article published on May 31, 1931, in the organ of the Naujavan Bharat Sabha, in which he says

“In order to ensure equality, we must get rid of bondage of every kind, social, economic, and political, and we must become fully and wholly free. But freedom does not mean indiscipline or licence. Freedom does not imply the absence of law. It only means the substitution of our own law, and our own discipline in place of an externally imposed law and discipline. Discipline imposed on us by ourselves is necessary, not only when we have attained freedom, but is more necessary, when we are struggling to achieve freedom. Therefore, discipline whether for the individual or for society, is necessary as basis of life. Lastly, all these fundamental principles viz. Justice, equality, freedom and discipline, presuppose or imply another higher principle viz. love. Unless we are inspired by a feeling of love for humanity, we can neither be just towards all, nor treat men as equal, nor feel called upon to sacrifice and sacrifice in the cause of freedom, nor enforce discipline of the right sort.”

That was the social philosophy of Subhas, and it is not necessary for any one to agree with all that he said and did to have admiration for the transcendent courage with which he fought for the achievement of social and political freedom of India.



# SUBHAS AND JAWAHAR

By Dillip Kumar Roy

*These two eminent sons of India had a great deal in common. They were both aristocratic to the finger tip, generous, unquestionably handsome, astonishingly healthy, incredibly energetic, naturally affectionate, essentially sincere and last though not least utterly inaccessible to fear that makes us cower or bargain. What there could have been there came that dug an unbridgeable gulf between them. That question posed by Dillip Kumar Roy a most intimate friend of Subhas is recalled by him in the extract below taken from *The Subhas as I knew Him*. It is a fascinating comparison joining deep into the personality of these two leaders.*

Subhas could never accept anything passively, ranging from law and order to sigh and suicide. He would take no end of pains to save a man who wanted a swift exit out of the world even if it necessitated his walking with him on the brink of a precipice. Often enough he had to pay dearly for it all, but he just hated to save his own skin. When I say this I have in mind some fanatical communists with whom he could never dream of hobnobbing, and yet when they came to him he gave them all the help they sorely needed, although he was not so blind as not to see that they would never lift a finger to help him were he to appeal to them on a similar plight. One such man came to me from Russia and though I took pity on him I hastened — to see the last of him. But this man was subsequently quartered by Subhas and he had to pay for it. I touch upon this unpleasant topic only to show up the innate nobility of his aristocratic nature, because it was just for this aristocracy of insouciance that he was subsequently vituperated and not the least bitterly by those whom he had helped most to tide over some grave crises.

But his type of experience must leave a legacy of cynicism in the mind of an idealist activist, generally speaking. So Subhas's outlook on life and things had to be modified as a result of such experiences. That is why in his thirties he used to quote somewhat bitterly what C. R. Das had said after just a year's leadership in politics, that he had not run across nearly as many scoundrels in his twenty-five years

experience in law-courts as he had in that one year of co-operation with the non-co-operators of India

Subhas felt his deepening loneliness in his later life as keenly as he did because he was persuaded he had few to count on among his compatriots. If this is borne in mind it may be easier to understand why Subhas was sometimes harsh on his colleagues, specially during the period of his deepening frustration in politics. I would have passed it by had I not seen how the psychological kink prevented him from doing full justice to a man of such unimpugnable nobility as Jawaharlal. Otherwise I am confident he would have simply laughed it away, as he should have, when some of his associates would warn him against—"Jawaharlal's unconfessed anti-Bengali mentality". I could not but regard it as a great tragedy. For I never believed that Jawaharlal could be adjudged parochial by anybody who knew how to put two and two together. I don't claim he had no limitation, but I do say that none who has even once seen Jawaharlal at close range can possibly fail to be impressed by his outstanding sincerity and integrity of character—to say nothing of his perspicacity and penmanship. In our derelict times he is perhaps the one man in political India who, with his clear grasp of the trend of forces, specially in the sphere of international politics, gives us at any rate some sense of direction and, even in the thick of the misleading poison-clouds of diplomacy, has so far successfully steered clear of the reefs of nationalism and schools of communalism.

I wrote all this to Subhas in a long confidential letter when he insisted, against the wise advice of Jawaharlal, to stand for re-election in 1939—as President of the Congress. I risked it as I had feared that the wiser man's counsel would go unheeded, as unhappily, it did subsequently. I say, 'unhappily' because some henchmen of Subhas dinned into his ears pompously that he was 'the man of destiny' at this crucial hour of Indian history, till he came in the end to believe that 'the country could not do without him'. In my letter, referred to, I protested — very humbly and firmly — that it would be far wiser to believe that though 'we all of us are wanted but none of us is wanted much'. Not that I was so naive as to think that he would be likely to listen to such philosophical nonsense hatched from an arm-chair aloofness, for I could very well imagine how hard it must be for him to rise to the occasion and resign gracefully when his blood had already caught fire, thanks to his unfortunate collisions with the Congress High Command. But I had to make some attempt to show him, if I could, that he should stand ultimately to gain if he would just resign gracefully and make room for the next President.

'I know from experience, dear Subhas,' so I wrote, "how difficult it is to stand back even for a moment when fanfares of intoxication goad on forward—relentlessly. But when all is said and done, a man is

great in action only when he is great in his decisions which have prompted the action. This may be beyond the capacity of the mediocre but surely not beyond yours. Besides, you can't afford to be blind to this obvious risk that even if one assumed that you were substantially right in your appraisal of the political situation this apparent eagerness to be re-elected would look too personal to be convincing. Furthermore Jawaharlal was surely right when he wrote to you that you hardly needed to cling to the President's chair in order to make your great influence felt in the country being humans.

But what about Jawaharlal? I have often marvelled how he could avoid these eddies with such a conspicuous success. I have spent so much thought on him not for the pure fun of speculation but because I could not but wish that they (Subhas and Jawaharlal) could be real friends not merely on paper. I propose to dwell for a little on my gradual discovery of the reason why this was rendered impossible if only to bring Subhas's character into a bolder relief through the helpful art of contrast.

It may I think be taken as obvious that these two eminent sons of India had a deal in common. They were both aristocratic to their finger tips, generous, unquestionably handsome, astonishingly healthy, incredibly energetic, naturally affectionate, essentially sincere and last, though not least utterly inaccessible to fear that makes us carp or bargain. What then could have been the cause that dug an unbridgeable gulf between them?

Realising full well that it is just when one itches most to figure as a wise man that one steps nearest to the brink of looking like a fool I feel one might say with a fair amount of confidence — because it is borne out by the bulk of human experience — that the crux of the trouble in such matters is generally to be found in some kind of unnamable instinctive discord. Who can honestly plead not guilty to the charge that the Impeccable has repelled him nearly as often as the despicable attracted?

It is one of our life's deepest mysteries why one is attracted by another. Moralists and psychologists have called it temperamental affinity. For long I had believed this till at last I had to reject the hypothesis as inadequate. What affinity could possibly be inferred for instance between a Jawaharlal and a Gandhi? Or for that matter between Subhas himself and his chief C. R. Das? It is true temperament has some say in the business. But so has similarity of ideals or community of financial interests or even to go still lower down in the scale a sense of loyalty to the chief among gangsters. In the case of evolved personalities like Subhas and Jawaharlal the right diagnosis of the trouble becomes if anything more difficult because the more one ponders the less one understands why two men who had so much to

gain and so little to lose through friendship never could subscribe to that feeling of instinctive liking which, in human relationship, makes all the difference in the world, one way or the other

Before I had come to practice Yoga I used to accept somewhat naively the current view about temperamental affinity. I thought then it was because Jawaharlal was temperamentally a man of intellect while Subhas was essentially a man of religion that one recoiled from the other. I knew then little about the dark knots of curious instincts that even hard discipline of Yoga could only partially disentangle. Not till some at least of these were loosened could one rightfully call man a master in his much-vaunted House of Reason. Only one thing I will venture to suggest. It is that Subhas's undeclared misgivings about Jawaharlal were not appreciably lessened by the latter's rapidly growing enthusiasm for 'the oracle of Moscow' the mystic within him never could feel assuaged when the great Kashmiri repeated the communist mantra about religion being the opium of the soul. And without wishing to be irreverent to Jawaharlal's fine intellect it may I think be safely asserted that here it was always Subhas who scored and argued better because he delved deeper. There was another thing. Jawaharlal has said in his fascinating autobiography that somehow or other he never felt at home on the Indian soil. Subhas could have felt at home nowhere else. So while Jawaharlal could (at one time at least, for he is happily, getting more and more disillusioned about Russia) take his orders from Moscow, the Subhas I knew could never even dream of accepting any philosophy of life imposed on him from without, no, not even accept that sick and maimed India should be made whole by some prescription of the Russian dictators.

Such a difference in total outlook and perception could be attributed to an incompatibility whose roots can never be discovered in what we commonly call our visible personality or temperament. That is why I have set it down to what, in default of a better name, I have named "instinctive disaccord." In this context, however, I have used the word instinct in the sense which is connoted by our incomparably more pregnant word known as Samskara which, with all its mystic wealth of implications and profound suggestiveness, is untranslatable in perhaps any European language. But a conversation I had with Subhas in 1939 will I think better elucidate the mystery.

It was in Calcutta. We two were reclining after our mid-day meal nestling in a profusion of pillows and bolsters. We talked of one thing and another till I said with an air of casualness that Jawaharlal was a fascinating personality.

Subhas appraised me.

You remember how deliciously Sarat Babu used to say 'I am not quite the fool I look'?"

"What on earth are you insinuating?" I packed all the innocence I could summon into my voice.

He met me with his old guffaw. We don't consult a dictionary when we already know the meaning of a word, do we?

But when I said Jawaharlal was fascinating it was merely a leading note to a word beyond all dictionaries. Only you never gave me the chance to say it that you were irresistible!

I only got a fisticuff for pains.

O horror! And you say that I lie like a bungler when you do it like a bigamist? But no spare yourself another prevarication for and his face instantly changed. 'I'll play into your hands with eyes open

'That means?'

Tell you plump my opinion of Jawaharlal. My heart beat nineteen to the dozen. Will you really?

But there again he had suddenly relapsed into a brown study as was his wont whenever he had something significant to say. There was that old remoteness in his eyes too once more. I felt a malaise gnawing within me or shall I say a nameless fear?—Was he going to blurt out something unacceptable to me? Wouldn't it be embarrassing if he did? For I could not but own to myself that I had found Jawaharlal more than fascinating. And then didn't I owe him a deep debt for having rescued me in a most awkward situation. The episode I saw again in my mind's eye.

One thousand nine hundred and twenty three (or was it 1922?) It happened at Subhas's house under the aegis of his chief C. R. Das. I had been invited to sing before a galaxy of political leaders who deigned for once to be entertained. Here was Coda plenty, there was the leonine Das strong and massive radiating strength and kindness. There was Jawaharlal with his Hamlet smile. There was Sarat Chandra Das a pillar of moral support to wherever morality rocked on its foundations. There were a few turbaned Olympians who condescended to smile at me deeply conscious that it was so good of them to find music interesting.

There was Surendra Mohan Ghosh with an aerie round his lips and a grim determination in his heart to go where there is no laughter nor marriage, the jail. There was a tall Pathan a fire-eater whose every word was in tune with Greece's battle-cry. It is just opposition that rejuvenates. In the shy corner murmured T. C. Goswami a born aristocrat with a velvet hat and Oxford accent who was going soon to prove an all too willing victim for every culture round the corner. There were also the lesser fry giants with jugglers and topes dwarfs with ball heads and top-knots, non-cooperators nodding a cent in Cayenne caps and co-operators toasting defiance in Turkish beer. It was indeed an awe-inspiring and withal the most incongruous company that ever assembled to save the ancient country with a modern

motto "We shall all hang together or assuredly, we shall all hang separately."

I felt a thrill was I, a thing of earth, going to sing to such a stately consistory?

"Silence please!" roared the stentorian Das "Dilip is going to give us a famous martial song composed by his father Dwijendralal Roy 'dhaodao samarakshetie' "

I have hinted already how deeply Subhas used to be moved by music, but it is impossible to depict how I was affected myself when I felt that my music was moving him. So I might well have confined myself to this that I was on dizzy heights of rapture, but on this occasion my world of bliss burst alas, too soon, like an Irish bubble. For it so happened that just when I was soaring in the Empyrean I found my wings, suddenly clipped. I was met by a hum of voices — the great politicals talking! Stung to my core, I stopped dead, leaving the last verse unsung.

"I am sorry Dilip," apologised Subhas in a low voice for he was sitting close to me. I shot a glance at him. His face was tender with pain. "I exposed you to this," he added. "I ought to have known better."

Suddenly we were all startled a clear incisive voice rang out.

"Gentlemen," thundered Jawaharlal with flashing eyes. "If you don't care for music please at least let those have a chance who do."

There was an abashed silence, instantly. And I had to sing again.

Since that day I have loved Jawaharlal with a sense of gratefulness that time could never completely erase. And so far as I myself was concerned it was surely a case of love at first sight. Of course, I knew he could never really care for a man like me who disliked the pretensions of science and adored what he so scathingly condemned as medieval religious ardour, but this consciousness on my part had never made any difference to my love and admiration for him. And yet I wonder if I would have felt so tenderly for him, however noble his character, had it not been for my startled awareness on that fateful night of humiliation when it was obvious that he had come to my rescue notwithstanding his utter lack of interest in me or the quality of my music. Time has only deepened my regard and solicitude for him in a steady crescendo till it culminated in 1936 in profound sympathy for a loneliness and a rootless honesty. His autobiography had heard me a few books have in my life.

## WHEN SUBHAS PRESIDED OVER CONGRESS

*Clad in white Khadi with a cream-coloured shawl thrown over his shoulders in the Bengali style, a Gandhi cap perched on a precarious slant on his massive head, his right hand outstretched in fascist fashion with measured strides and stern gaze he walked to the rostrum like a conqueror returning home after a victory. It was a fascist technique all right that military demeanour that impressive pose that stiff-necked walk that grand march to the tune of hand music there was nothing of the mild meek Hindu about his attitude. That is the description of Subhas's personality as at Haripur Congress as given by the writer Tall, fair Mongol-featured and bearded, he had an attractive personality and impressed one with his genial nature, kind-heartedness and artless smile. It was a personality that none who attended the Congress session could possibly forget.*

**A**LL ROADS WERE LEADING to Haripur. I took one of them from Central Rajputana and found myself at Madhi an insignificant wayside station suddenly grown into importance. Our train carried the first big batch of delegates and visitors to the Haripur Congress of 1938 and we were received at the station with fanfares, trumpets and cheers.

It was a motley crowd that landed on the platform of Madhi, a miniature India, something like the one you see at the big melas at Haridwar or Prayag. Men and women from different provinces, youths and children of all ages, rich and poor, peasants and princes, all were disgorged that cool morning from the train without any ceremony or formality.

One noticed many "extras" at the station: extra platforms, extra staff, extra waiting rooms, extra stalls, extra everything. The police were there too, not to bully the passengers but to be helpful and to control the traffic. Hundreds of buses were waiting to carry the political pilgrims to Haripur, ten miles away. In spite of the rush and scramble, a common phenomenon in India, there was a certain amount of orderliness and method.

One felt at once the hand of the Congress Government there. The long stretch of rail-road and tarred road from Haridwar to Madhi, about 70 miles long, revealed the activities of the P. W. D., the first decent

road of its kind leading to an Indian village. There were policemen at regular intervals to control the heavy bus traffic, night and day, and to be of service to those who could not afford the luxury of even a bus ride.

Of course, at Haipura itself it was the volunteers who did the police work, the scavenging work, the scout work, the guide work and what not. It was an admirable organisation, the volunteer force, consisting of two thousand boys and a thousand girls, mostly from the villages. They were perfectly disciplined and carried out their allotted task in a more efficient way than the youth from cities and colleges.

Haipura is a small village in Baidoli taluq. This village played its part in that epic struggle with which its name is associated. The Congress City, Vithalnagar, was two miles further from this village, by the side of the Tapti. A fairly level ground with a gentle incline towards the bank of the river was chosen for this bamboo city, which was to be the centre of attraction for all India and even for the rest of the world for over a week.

It was an impressive sight that greeted the half-a-million people who thronged there from all parts of the world. They saw before their eyes a wonder city created overnight by the wand of a magician, with some of the amenities of modern life. It was two miles long, with a broad avenue in the middle, as the main artery for traffic, and fine thatched huts to house five lakhs of people.

The houses, pandals, gateways, exhibition stalls and even the huge amphitheatre, where the open sessions were held, were built of materials produced locally. The city cost the Reception Committee seven and half lakhs, over five lakhs of which were spent in the taluq itself, in raw materials, in labour etc. Only the very indispensable things, like iron tanks and pipes for water supply were brought from Bombay. The whole town was electrically lit and there was ample provision of radios, loud speakers, telephones and telegraphs. Water supply was in abundance, and the sanitary arrangements were most admirable. There was beauty and design, at once simple and suggestive, in all the superstructures. Old Indian motifs and paintings by modern art students decorated all the main gateways.

It was wonderful to see what the ambition of a peasant, Vallabhbhai Patel, and the vision of an artist, Nandalal Bose, could do with such simple things as khaddar cloth, palm leaves, bamboo slits, woven thatis and the tri-coloured national flags. It was the biggest creative achievement of Nandalal Bose.

The procession of the President-elect, Subhas Bose, was in itself an attractive affair. A chariot, drawn by fifty-one bulls, escorted by saffron-sareed girls, singing songs, reached the Congressnagar towards dusk in failing light. Subhas appeared happy and healthy, and as the youngest President, he cheered the hearts of the younger section of the



crowd who welcomed him with loud applause. On the opening day Mrs Naidu made one of her eloquent speeches when she thanked the retiring president, Jawaharlal in the name of the nation. Jawaharlal's reply and parting words were in usual sad sincere style. Subhas Bose made a short speech after his election to the peresidentship which revealed the undaunted warrior in him.

He was nervous and a bit confused on the first day. It being his first experience of that kind, but later pulled himself up and made an ideal President. The most dominating figure in spite of the many veterans on the dais was, of course, Jawaharlal who continued to advise influence and command the gathering. In difficult situations it was he who got up to explain things and to bring about an understanding. Not even once did he fail. His seriousness, sincerity and above all his sad smile won in the end.

Subhas was cast of a different mould. He was a revolutionary at heart and rebel. He was not an idealist like Jawaharlal nor had he the clear vision and penetrating mind of the Pandit. Jawahar is a different type a force a personality. Subhas had not the mental makeup of Jawahar though both are impulsive and sensitive to suffering and pain. Subhas had sampled many political creeds and ideologies in his life. He hobnobbed with revolutionaries in his younger days. He played with Fascist ideas for a while. He was by temperament more inclined to be a dictator than a democrat and often he pretended faith in socialistic doctrines and Gandhian technique of ahimsa. One did not know where he really stood with regard to his political principles. But like Jawahar he was a realist and would not let his idealism run away with him as is the case with most young socialists.

Clad in white khadi with a cream-coloured shawl thrown over his shoulders in the Bengali style, a Gandhi cap perched at a precarious slant on his massive head, his right hand outstretched in fascist fashion with measured strides and stern gaze he walked to the rostrum like a conqueror returning home after a victory. It was a fascist technique all right that military demeanour that impressive pose that stiffnecked walk that grand march to the tune of band music. There was nothing of the mild meek Hindu about him or his attitude.

He wanted to impress upon the people that he was their chosen leader and that he meant to lead them in his own way. He was not the one to feel humble about anything and he had no false notions about his prestige as the President of the Congress. That coveted honour came to him while he was yet young and he wanted to show that he had not only the energy and enthusiasm also the wisdom and ability to guide aright his country's destiny. He knew he was the man of the hour and every gesture of his betrayed it.

Being young he naturally took advice from his elders when deciding any constitutional issue or throwing out a resolution in the

## WHEN SUBHAS PRESIDED OVER CONGRESS

Subjects Committee meeting, but he saw to it at the same time, that his views did prevail in the main conduct of the Congress business. He did not let the "No-Changeis" in the Congress to have theirs. He tried to keep excited Congressmen under control but when things went beyond his control, he turned to Jawaharlal who, in his usual impulsive way, set matters right, either by laughing over them or by snubbing the unruly. This is a privilege which Jawaharlal alone enjoys in Indian public life.

Subhas Bose's presidential address was uninspiring. His Hindi speech, as he read it out falteringly, prompted loudly by Acharya Narendra Deo, was not, much of a performance. His English speeches were better, and when inspired, he could rise to poetic heights and move men to tears or action. But such moments were rare in his case.

Tall, fair, mongol-featured and bespectacled, he had an attractive personality and impressed one with his genial nature, kind-heartedness and artless smile. He was much more selfcomposed than Jawaharlal. His friends say that he could take the most hostile criticism with a smile and a shrug of his shoulders. In Indian public life he had always been a stormcentre and a much-criticised man. He too, on his part, had always been aggressive. But his sacrifices had been great and unique.

Given the opportunity and the needed time, he was destined to be one of the three front-rank fighters for Indian freedom. And this he achieved as Netaji, when he organised the Indian National Army abroad and raised the battle cry of "Delhi Chalo", and finally he met the hero's death in his fight for freedom.

## HOW SUBHAS ESCAPED FROM INDIA

By S. A. Ayer

*Mr S. A. Ayer who was Minister for Publicity in the Provisional Government of India established by Subhas during the last war narrates in the following extract from his book "Unto Him a Witness" how Subhas escaped from Calcutta crossed over to Kabul and then went to Germany. From Germany he went by submarine to Japan and then organised the India National Army. Before the escape it must be remembered Subhas had been detained in prison and released on threat to go on hunger strike.*

**W**ITH HIS RELEASE from prison Subhas finished one phase of his life and began another which subsequently turned out to be full of romance and glory. This second phase is mainly responsible for elevating Subhas to the position of esteem with which he is held by all his 40 crores of countrymen. Yet a study of Subhas Babu's character cannot be complete without a study of the period during which his ideas were moulded.

Subhas did not plunge into any activity immediately after his release. He indulged in a long range verbal duel with Maulana Azad but that was all. He did not take any part in politics. After a lapse of some days he on the contrary chose to observe complete silence and stay in complete solitude without allowing anybody to see him. He began to spend much of his time in meditation and contemplation. His friends, relatives and colleagues were a little surprised to see this sudden change in Subhas Babu's psychology though all of them knew that Subhas always used to be attracted by things spiritual. Subhas in spite of his being a great revolutionary always implicitly believed in the existence and omnipotence of God. The religious traditions which he imbibed from his mother could at no time be completely overshadowed. Everybody believed that Subhas was renouncing politics and leaning towards religion. Many former revolutionaries of Bengal had chosen such a path. Shree Archanda Chatterjee was the leader of this cult.

But one day the news contained in a Government communique startled the whole world. Subhas was missing from the room in which

## HOW SUBHAS ESCAPED FROM INDIA

he had confined himself'' According to the details published, he never used to allow anybody into his room till the last day. He never used to see anybody. Even the members of his family could not contact him.

The news of his disappearance was published on the day on which India was celebrating "Independence Day" i.e. on the 26th of January.

Some believed that Subhas had left his home on that memorable day only, but the details subsequently published proved that Subhas had left his home many days previously. It means that the news of his disappearance was published only after he had safely reached a particular place.

The publication of that news let loose a flood of speculations as to the possible whereabouts of Subhas Babu. Countless messages of condolence poured into the Bose household. It was a time when the war in Europe was being waged with the utmost vigour, and the news of Subhas's disappearance received wide publicity at the hands of both the 'enemy' and the 'friendly' radio stations.

Most of the speculators about Subhas's whereabouts believed at first that he had started off for the Himalayas to take up the threads of his "Sanyas" where he had left them during his immature years. But little by little this belief began to be shaken. People then began to believe that he had left the country in a Japanese submarine and reached Tokio. After many months, when he was heard broadcasting from the Berlin Radio, people were at first sceptical to believe that it was Subhas's own voice that was coming over to them over the air. But when the Government Agencies themselves announced that Subhas had joined hands with Axis Powers, people became convinced that he, by hook or crook, had managed to reach the camp of the arch enemies of Britain. Suddenly on March 28th 1942, Reuter flashed the news that Subhas was killed during an air-crash near the coast of Japan. This news sent a wave of grief over the whole country, though soon afterwards the news was contradicted. Ultimately, the Government and the people were convinced that Subhas was nowhere else but in Berlin.

Yet the mystery of the way in which he effected his escape and reached Berlin could not be unravelled for a pretty long time. Afterwards India practically knew nothing about his activities also. That smoke-screen has very recently been lifted, though during the latter part of the year 1945 people had already begun to speculate regarding the possible route Subhas might have taken to escape into another country.

The first person to try a hand at unravelling this mystery was the Sikh leader of the Punjab, Master Tara Singh. It became known that one of the Punjab Ministers was connected with Subhas's escape from India. Thereafter, we began to receive information by bits, and though

these bits did not fit into each other to make a connected whole one thing became apparent, and it was that Subhas had not left India by submarine or aeroplane but he had left the country overland crossing over to the other side over its western frontiers. In the beginning of January 1946 more details regarding this came to light. A correspondent of the Hindustan Standard of Calcutta made public the details he had received about Subhas Babu's mode of escape—details which were said to have been received from a person who directly helped Subhas in his adventure.

This is what that person appears to have said — Shreejut Subhas Chandra Bose left Calcutta by road on the 13th December 1940 and travelling by motor car all the way to the Burdwan station boarded a second class compartment of the Punjab Mail that had just steamed into the station. He had allowed his beard to grow. The hair of his head also was not cropped and it was falling in curling locks right on to his neck. By the time he reached Peshawar Subhas began to look like a Pathan. For six days he stayed in Peshawar and then he left for Kabul in company with a body-guard and guide. He rode in a tonga for five miles out of Peshawar. Thereafter he travelled the whole distance on foot only.

In Kabul Subhas was caught in the net of the Afghan C I D but he managed to escape from their hands by bribing one of its members. Subhas is said to have given him his fountain pen and a ten rupee note to let him go. Then Subhas contacted the Russian Government but he was told by them that the Non Aggression Pact between Russia and Germany was on the point of being liquidated, and there was a possibility of rapprochement between the British Government and the Russian Government. It was not possible for the Russian Government to give shelter to Subhas. The Soviet Government did not want to displease the Britishers in any way.

When a German agent came to know that Subhas Babu was in search of a haven to anchor his boat, he put him in contact with Berlin. Thereafter arrangements were made to send Subhas by air to Berlin via Russia.

After the publication of the above narrative very recently, i.e. in the beginning of March 19, Lala Uttamchand threw important light on Subhas Babu's adventure in a series of articles which he wrote for the Hindustan Times of Delhi. Lala Uttamchand was a merchant in Kabul and according to his own saying it was he who gave Subhas the necessary shelter and was responsible for making successful arrangements for his trip to Berlin. Lala Uttamchand's articles tally in major details with the news published beforehand. He suffered great hardships in going out of his way to help Subhas. For a simple merchant Lala Uttamchand's courage was really remarkable. We shudder to think

what would have happened if Lala Uttamchand had not helped Subhas. Then, would the glorious dream of Azad Hind have come true?

But let us not wander in this realm of imagination. Let us tread the beaten track of factual analysis.

Lala Uttamchand's articles do not throw much light on the question as to how and when Subhas escaped from Calcutta. He does not go beyond the details published by the "Hindustan Standard". We do not yet know whose help was responsible for sending Subhas safely out of Calcutta. We do not yet understand why Subhas thought of going out to Russia. He disguised himself as a Moulvi of Lucknow and went to Kabul under the assumed name of Ziauddin. This fact would perhaps lead one to believe that his principal help-mate must have been some Muslim. The fact that Subhas wanted to go to Russia would lead us to the surmise that his help-mate must probably have been a communist. It is not yet clear why Subhas ever entertained the idea of going to Russia. He was competent enough to understand that, in spite of the pact of non-aggression existing between Russia and Germany, the conflict of ideologies of the two nations had never ceased to exist and if he did not want to go to Russia, why should he have gone to Peshawar and Kabul at all. All these things are still obscure and they will come to light only when another Lala Uttamchand, who must have helped Subhas in successfully negotiating the first hurdle that Calcutta was, comes forward.

Today we only know that one cold night, when everything was covered with snow, and life was being frozen to death by the drop in the temperature, Subhas entered Kabul in company with his help-mate. Staying there, he moved heaven and earth to be able to go to Russia but was not successful. He had assumed the name of Ziauddin and was looking like a real Kabuli. The Kabul C I D was after him. The C I D had no notion as to who Ziauddin was, but for some reason or another they began to trouble him more and more. In these circumstances he sought Lala Uttamchand's help and Lala Uttamchand showed great courage in taking upon his shoulders the onerous responsibility. It was he who put Subhas in touch with Italian Ambassador. After undergoing unimaginable hardships Subhas ultimately reached Berlin via Russia.

Here a question naturally arises as to what would have happened if Subhas had been successful in going over to Russia, as was his desire. According to Lala Uttamchand Subhas did want to go to Russia. He even showed his dislike towards some of the methods employed by Germany. The details of Subhas Babu's contemplated plan of action after he reached Russia, as revealed to us by Lala Uttamchand are not attractive. It seems that in reply to Lala Uttamchand's question as to what he would do after reaching Russia, Subhas Babu said that he wanted to enlist the armed help of Russia in favour of India. Let us

recapitulate the dialogue that seems to have passed between him and Lala Uttamchand on one occasion.

During one of the talks I asked Bose his main object in going to Moscow

He said 'The Russians and the Germans have just concluded a Non aggression Pact. Germany is at war with Britain Russia is an enemy of Britain This is the time to go to Moscow and do propaganda for Indian freedom.

'The Russians and the Germans are at peace just now I said 'but still there is little in common between their ideologies. Who can say that even now there is no preparation for a war between them under the cover of friendship? And then will the Russians allow you to carry on propaganda against the British?

'It may be Bose Babu replied that the friendship between Russia and Germany does not last long and they might go to war But the political situation today is changing so fast that we do not know what may happen within the next 24 hours. No one ever imagined that Russia and Germany could conclude a pact of friendship But that is how things developed Even if there is an under-current of hostility between Germany and Russia the British too are no friends of Russia I am sure the Russians will let me carry on propaganda against the British

But do you think India will get her freedom merely through propaganda? I asked

My own conviction is that the British will not quit India till they are thrown out by a bloody revolution he said 'They have never freed any country peacefully Look at Ireland Remember the Irish are their own kith and kin When after 700 years of struggle and suffering Ireland did win her freedom the British even then kept a small part of the Irish earth for themselves How can they give up India voluntarily? It is true anti British propaganda abroad will not win us freedom but just now they are engaged in a life and-death struggle and my propaganda will definitely do them considerable harm

But then do you think India cannot have a revolution like the one which took place in Ireland? I asked

The conditions which the British have created in India make such a revolution impossible It is very difficult to create conditions in India in which we can throw the British out Again such a revolution cannot be brought about without the help of a foreign power Even Russia owes her revolution to Germany and America won her independence with the help of France

Do you mean to say I asked that you are going to Russia to try to obtain her help in the liberation of India?

## HOW SUBHAS ESCAPED FROM INDIA

'Yes, that is my real object' he confessed 'I want to persuade the Russians to help us. If I fail in this, I can always do anti-British propaganda. If I had stayed back in India, the Government would have kept me in prison for the duration of the war. And I am sure, all the big leaders of the country will also be put in prison. I preferred to escape and do whatever I could for the independence of my country, rather than rot in prison.'

'But what will you do if you are not allowed to go to Moscow straight from here,' I asked.

'Firstly, I shall make an attempt on my way to get down in Moscow and stay on there. If I do not succeed I will arrange it through the Russian Embassies in Berlin and Rome. I hope it will be arranged there because there you can freely contact the legations. In any case I hope to get to Moscow soon.'

I expressed my doubts whether the Axis would let him go to Moscow in a war like this, if they got hold of an Indian of his status. I said, they would much rather put him to their own use than let him go to the Russians.

'I too know they will not give me up easily to the Russians,' said Bose, 'but I will do my best to go to Moscow. Today Russia is the only country which can help to liberate India. No other country will help us. That is why I do not want to go anywhere else but to Moscow. If India does not win her freedom during this war, she will not be able to get it for another fifty years, unless, of course, a bloody revolution takes place sooner.'"



## SUBHAS TURNS DOWN MUSSOLINI'S PROPOSALS

*Anthony Elcuzmittona in "The Hero of Hindustan" published by Oriental Book Co Calcutta describes the interview between Subhas and Mussolini held during the last war. Subhas was as firm as ever in the presence of the Italian dictator and turned down Mussolini's proposal to form a Provisional Government in Europe. He was prepared to establish it later in Asia. He also rejected the proposal to establish Indo-Italian cultural relations. First things must come first he said and freedom must come first then feeding the starving masses and clothing the naked.*

**S**UBHAS CHANDRA had gone that evening to the Palazzo Venezia to discuss matters with Mussolini.

As his car drove in there were a dozen Fascist soldiers who greeted Subhas saying Viva ! India (long live India). Guards of honour accompanied Subhas. The Foreign Minister Conte Galeazzo Ciano received Subhas at the palace and showed him in to Benito Mussolini's office-room.

A spacious and richly decorated hall. Many rich and artistic portraits of Garibaldi, Mazzini, Cavour, Victor Emmanuel II and others. Several telephones, highly mechanised means of communication in the hall. Files, registers and official books in one corner of the hall. A large portrait of King Victor Emmanuel III and of the royal family. Mussolini in military uniform was seen intensely busy. Then he was not wearing a cap on his bald head. Seeing Subhas at the door, Mussolini got up, went up to the door and shaking hands with Subhas embraced him. Then taking hand in hand they drew near the table. They sat down and started the conversation.

The Foreign Minister, Conte Ciano, Mussolini's son-in-law was also present at the conversation.

Mussolini: Are you quite comfortably put up in the Hotel "Mr. Rose"? I am sending Captain Liccarelli every day to inquire about you in the Hotel.

Subhas: O I am quite comfortably put up there. Thanks.

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Mussolini Since I wrote to you that note, I had a phone call, the other day, with Adolf (Hitler), and we further discussed whether, and in what way, we could transport same men and material to the East. Now, as you see for yourself, we are hard pressed, both from the East and the West. The Russian colossus is not yet laid low, nor the incalculable American resources are fully revealed. But once the terra incognita (unknown land) is explored, and our line is cut straight, then, Subhas Bose, the might of Fascist arms will be at your disposal.

Subhas Yes, You are right. In the present context that is but a forgone conclusion.

Mussolini By the way, yesterday at the Foreign Office it was suggested that you could gain more sympathy and support from the people of Italy, if you were to form a Provisional Government of India in Rome or in Berlin, exactly as the defeated governments of Belgium, France, Holland, Poland and Greece have formed in London.

Subhas grimly answered. No, that is not possible. There is no question of forming any Provisional Government of free India, not in Europe at any rate. Later on, after my return to Asia, and before launching the campaign, I may form a Provisional Government, which then will not be mine, but of the great country of which Subhas Chandra Bose is but an infinitesimal part, a humble servant and a fighting soldier.

Mussolini If you feel that the formation of a Provisional Government in Europe will not further your interests, nor it will be compatible with self-respect then, you may do what seems best for you.

Adolf was telling me when I last met him in Munich how he remained impressed by your personality, your love of inner freedom, and the brave plans you have mapped out in your mind. Adolf further said that if you were an Indian, then all Indians must be of the same Aryan race as the Germans, and as such, will form part of greater Germany, or rather, Germany would form part of greater India, that has to give a lead and directive to the world. In that new world order there will be peace for a thousand years.

Subhas Well, thanks for your appreciation. Yes, I am born a free mason. As a free man I will continue to fight the present and future exploiters of my country. As a free man I will die in the battlefield. I want freedom, more freedom, fullest freedom, for me, for my country, for the whole mankind.

Mussolini I must congratulate you for that wonderful speech you made before the students in Berlin. There so clearly and orderly you have outlined the future of free India, and the strong centralisation and powerful organisation that are needed there. I have studied the text of your speech almost by heart, as that will help to clear my own mind. Dr. Astorre Lupatelli, the Rector of the university for the

Foreigners in Perugia has received an appreciative report of that speech which is now being circulated.

Of the many foal dreams I dream in my mind one is undoubtedly the cultural relationship between our two great countries. The Senator Giovanni Gentile had sent me a draft of the Indo-Italian Cultural Relationship Scheme which we hope, will materialise as soon as the war is over.

Suhhas First things come first. Our first preoccupation is to free India from the foreign yoke. To tell you the truth we have at present relegated culture and cultural relationships to the last place. Before we could think of any cultural relationship we have first of all to free India from the claws of the British Lion. Then we have to embark upon freeing India from many internal tyrants like the dead traditions religious taboos communal cancer medieval feudalism of the Indian princes and many other evils. When we have sufficiently clothed our naked limbs and fed the walking skeletons then we may give out attention to culture. Self realisation and all the rest of it. First we are determined to live and then speculate and philosophise.

Ciano turning towards Mussolini, in a low voice How true how logical how dignified are his words!

Mussolini You are perfectly right. India is today in a transition period. The sons of the soil know better than anybody else what is really befitting and what is not, to their own country. But all being well I do hope you will reciprocate our earnest desire to exchange students and scholars between our two countries to interpret the respective messages in the most efficient way.

Suhhas The doors of co-operation are always open. India has all her portals wide open to the four corners of the world. Open mindedness has been one of the characteristic features of India and India will grow on that national heritage.

Mussolini I have got to discuss some other matters with you. We should have a long afternoon free. Perhaps we shall fix up later on. In the meantime it will give Edda Ciano and me great pleasure if you could dine with us the day after tomorrow at Ciano's residence. From there we could drive down to our country villa and if the weather permits we shall go to the Forum—which they call Forum Mussolini!

Suhhas Thanks very much. But I have some other previous engagements in Germany and I am afraid I must keep them. But I expect better luck next time.

Ciano If it is not so urgent we can easily cancel your appointments in Germany or postpone them by phone right now.

Suhhas turning to Ciano with a smile No appointments once fixed should be adhered to at all costs unless some more important

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and pressing duty compels one occasionally to cancel or postpone them But in my case, I do not think that there is enough reason now to alter or cancel my engagements in Germany But I do hope to be back in Rome again towards the middle of next month, and then I shall be happy to dine and talk matters over with you, in the light of further developments in the war and the changing political situation in the world

Mussolini Come, then, let us move I will accompany you, Subhas Chandra, back to the Hotel I have to go that way myself now To day I am your guard of honour

They came down Ciano motored down to his house Mussolini and Subhas got in another car and drove down to Excelsior Hotel II Duce stayed with Netaji for some time in the Hotel after which he left Subhas left for Berlin the next day by air

## SUBHAS HITS OUT AT HITLER

*At the interview between Subhas and Hitler the great Indian revolutionary did not hesitate to criticise Nazism and to show his preference for the Soviet system. Subhas told Hitler that attacking Russia was a serious blunder and criticised him for his reference to Indians in "Mein Kampf". The article is taken from Anthony Elanji-Mittai's "The Hero of Hindustan".*

IT 4.15 P.M. SHARP Hitler's special car was waiting at the door of Subhas residence and at 4.30 the great Indian revolutionary arrived at the Chancery. Armed S.S. soldiers and special guards of honour escorted Subhas to Hitler's quarters. Long high roofed and wide halls. Most up-to-date and scientific convenience everywhere. As Subhas was passing by accompanied by Dr. Von Trott of the foreign office two Germans in civilian clothes came towards Subhas and greeted him saying "Heil Hindustan". Subhas saluted them and walked along. Hitler was telephoning as Subhas entered the room. Finishing the telephone conversation in a minute the Fuehrer walked up to the door and received Subhas with a fraternal shake hand and taking his hand in his they walked on to a table standing by the side of a large window from where the open space and clear skies could be seen. On that day they talked on various subjects and their conversation lasted for nearly fifty five minutes.

The main topic of the discussion during that interview was the impending formation of the Indian National Army in Asia, the fulfilment of the "Zentrale Front Indian" which Subhas formed in Berlin in the year 1942.

Hitler: Although I am now hard pressed and my Germany you may be sure my comrade all the moral support of the German Nation and even the material help as far as it lies within our power will be yours for you to accomplish the dream you and your compatriots in India have the dream of freedom. The world outside specially the Anglo-Saxon plutocracy makes insidious propaganda against Hitler and Germany depicting Fascism and Nazism as the reign of terror as the blood-stained and satanical enemy of humanity. India they say is divided against herself and Subhas Bose is a traitor to the country. These calumnies are bound to come. The other day the private secretary

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to Von Ribbentrop was telling us how the Intelligence Department in Lisbon is twisting and pruning your words in order to justify their statement that Subhas Chandra Bose has sold his soul and mind, heart and body to Hitler. They grow on these lies.

Subhas. Vituperation follows applause, as pain follows pleasure. One should not heed it. But I must be true to my own inner light. It is conscience that compels me to fight for truth and justice, even at the risk of unmerited dishonour, misrepresentation, malignant and self-interested criticism, imprisonment or even physical death. Our duty is to do and the result will take care of itself. I know the sinister intentions that are behind the Tories of Britain, and although they pose themselves as gentlemen, they are the enemies of not only Indian freedom, but all human freedom of every race, everywhere.

The only country today where the most advanced ideas on Socialism and Democracy are in the Vanguard is the Soviet Union. Here, as you know already, I disagree fundamentally from you. You certainly call the great movement centering around you a form of Socialism suited to the historical and cultural background of the German Nation. Hence you call your movement National Socialism. After my arrival in this country, and since I got to know the people and the working of the Nazi state and the people from inside, I am becoming more convinced that the economico-political ideology of the Soviet Union of Socialist Republics is indeed very different from the foundations of the German Nazi state. But in both countries the dictatorship exists symbolised in one supreme representative man. But now you have started on a dangerous game with Russia.

Hitler. Well, from the Eastern front I fear no defeat, however hidden and mighty the Russian military resources and camouflaged tactics may be. Now to be frank with you, the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour has really prolonged my sleepless nights and worried days. The American resources are so vast and inexhaustible that, if the war is protracted for long, the tripartite powers may have to suffer in the end. What else is the tactics of Mr Churchill but to prolong the war to such a length of time until he could win the whole-hearted support of America to fight Germany? The British always won the battles on the blood of others. The British often win battles on the tables, through sheer diplomacy, whereas we fight and our blood is shed in vain, as we are not politically and diplomatically as experienced as Britain. That island, although a fortress of freedom in itself, is the cause of all the European wars and, in this century, of two world-wide conflagrations. The other nations fight and die, and the British will emerge out victorious to share the booty. What an accursed dividend on the blood of sister and neighbour nations!

Japan has certainly embarked upon a colossal folly by attacking Pearl Harbour, however encouraging and cheering her initial successes.

over America may be. In my solitary movements I doubt whether it was right on our part to declare war on the Soviet Union. But we could not have foreseen all these further complications which perhaps only an astute diplomatic politician like Mr Churchill could have calculated. In fact, Mr Churchill had said that the time would come when our enemy will make some fatal blunder which he said he would turn into our defeat. That is the history of the last war and the so-called defeat of Germany. This time Germany has taken all the measures so that such a mistake may never be repeated. We are sure that 1918 will not be repeated. But the Pearl Harbour is now haunting me like an infernal night mare.

You know perhaps more than any leading Indian today the heart of Germany. You will believe me I feel sure when I say that I am pondering over the freedom of India and how to open India's markets to all the countries of the world. Those Britishers are not ashamed to make the insensate propaganda that Germany would quietly walk in if the British quit India. They must remember that in the clear day light of 1912 there cannot be any civilized power which could walk in and rule India with a foreign viceroy with the Indian miserslings serving under him.

Subhas: What you wrote about India in your 'Mein Kampf' has always hurt me. Italy had indeed a shameful deal with Abyssinia and there the conditions are much worse than they are in India today. This flagrant injustice was done in the year 1936. The others argue that the devils led by the same axis tail will devour the victims fallen under their heels. Today words do not mean much. One day you make the pact of non aggression with Russia and the next day you attack her unexpectedly. Today the Western powers glory in their Atlantic Charter. Tomorrow it will be just a paper to be preserved in a museum and not a bond to be respected. That British bull dog Mr Winston Churchill has said that the Atlantic Charter need not be expected to be applied to India.

I fully share the view that in this world war both the belligerent countries have committed injustice. But to my way of thinking the injustice committed by the British imperialists is far baser than the juvenile delinquency and imperialist expansion in which the Tripartite Powers indulged. Germany, Italy and Japan are young nations full of potential energy and vitality, industrious and intelligent. The sun of civilization and culture is again in the East. At this moment unless America's resources are fully revealed we cannot say with any certainty how this war is going to end. There may never be a victorious nation but only a group of war-exhausted countries with incalculable destruction, hatred and mutual co-operative suicidal mania left behind in every one of the belligerent countries. If the war is protracted to its bitter end I agree with what you said Adolf that there would be

neither victorious nor vanquished nations, but only the survivors and the annihilated countries 'What a hard reality' O what a horror'

Hitler But now there is no going back for any of us Either America will crush us and the Jews will reign in this world, or we will crush the American Dollar and the Jews will be annihilated International Jewry is hard to be broken, and it will not bend as long as America serves their interests Of Mr Churchill and other British sea-dogs we do not take any notice, if the two great colossi, I mean America and Russia, are isolated from Britain, and understanding between Russia and America, and then between Germany and Russo-American coalition is reached

Hitler saying this, as if hit in his heart, leaned back to his chair and fell, as it were in a swoon, for a while His eyes were closed and his breathing became slow But the same facial expression was there, the index of iron-willed man, obsessed with the Nazi ideal of a World New Order, with intense and passionate love for his country, and fully determined to overthrow that Empire, where, they used to say that "the sun never sets"

The personal attendant came and sprinkled a few drops of cold water on Hitler's face which brought him back to the normal consciousness

On regaining his consciousness Hitler began God's help and providence are upon the German nation India also will rise again Crucifixion of the Homo Sapiens is the prelude to his resurrection The sufferings to which Germany is subject today are trying and we must relieve this strain within the shortest time possible We want the new order, not based any longer on money or power, but on labour and the capacity to produce and survive

Subhas India loves to see your country grow in righteous might, Germany, this land where deep philosophy and thought have ever thrived No other nation underneath the Western sun has today risen to your heights in political consciousness, in industry and power of thought, in all walks of material progress and life

After fixing up the time for the next meeting, those two great revolutionaries embraced each other and bade good-bye Hitler accompanied Subhas to the gate of the Chancery and the S S bodyguards escorted Subhas to the car He reached home by 6 p.m.



## NETAJI'S UNIQUE MARTYRDOM

*"Whenever he was not actually doing some work or talking to somebody he would withdraw himself in a trice and would be in communion with God" says Sir S. A. Ayer in the extract below describing Subhas' life in East Asia. "It was his immense spiritual faith that gave him peace tranquility strength infectious self-confidence tolerance charity natural humility and most important of all a touching and overpowering spirit of humanity"*

**T**HE WORLD HAS seen many martyrs in the past and will see many more in the future also. Their sufferings and sacrifices will stand out in history as unparalleled examples worth emulating in all times and in all climes.

Netaji's martyrdom was however unique. His sufferings were in no way inflicted on him by any outside agency. In the execution of his far reaching plans for the liberation of India he anticipated physical and mental agony and bore it all cheerfully and without a murmur when it came.

I do not propose to recall at length the sufferings and sacrifices he brought on himself until he disappeared from his home in Calcutta in January 1941. I have already made a brief reference to his war-time travels from India to Europe and the Far East to lead the army of India's Liberation. (This is published in another chapter in this book). In this connection one episode must be considered the most dramatic—the ninety-day submarine dash from Germany to East Asia early in 1943.

It was ninety days of hairbreadth escapes almost every day from torpedo or gunfire.

He was accompanied by only one Indian from Berlin. Abid Hassan who acted as his private secretary for some time after Netaji reached East Asia. Abid did not tell me the whole story of the ninety-day adventure on the high seas—rather under the high seas—all the way from Germany to Sumatra. He gave me only a scrappy account of the trip.

Netaji and Hassan were huddled in a corner of the submarine, not wanting to be in the way of the crew who had to be alert night and day.

to avoid being torpedoed under water or being rammed to extinction on the surface by enemy naval craft that were scouring the seas for German submarines. Netaji could not move his limbs freely, all he could do was a lot of deep thinking and planning. He could not even have a shave or did not wish to, he grew a beard in those ninety days, more perhaps with an eye to disguise as he did before he disappeared from his Calcutta home in 1941. Abid sported a "goatee." If the submarine had been captured, it would have been very difficult for a foreigner seeing Subhas without glasses and with a sizeable beard, to guess that it was the Indian revolutionary leader who was making an underwater dash from Berlin to Tokyo. If captured, both Subhas and Abid, with their fair skin, beards and fluent German, would have passed for men of the submarine crew.

At the end of those ninety difficult and anxious days, Netaji must have lost over a stone in weight, for he looked unusually thin even when he reached Singapore five or six weeks after he reached the haven of safety.

From the day he landed in Singapore (2nd July, 1943) till the days his plane crashed in Taihoku in Formosa (18th August 1945), when he sustained fatal burns in the crash resulting in fire, his mind or body knew no rest or peace. Worries, anxieties, agonies, hunger, risky trips to the front handbreadth escapes from bombings and machinegunnings, forced marches on blistered feet—no, there is not one form of physical or mental suffering and torture that Netaji did not undergo, though willingly and cheerfully. Any other mere man in his place would have cracked up long ago under the strain. He went through enough to give him a complete nervous breakdown within a year of his taking over the leadership in East Asia. But then he was the chosen of God, he was made for martyrdom, he was born to set an unparalleled example of the human spirit cheerfully accepting and enduring every conceivable ordeal—of body and mind, for the sake of his country.

Indeed, even as a martyr alone, he has no compeer in history. And, as a revolutionary hero, Netaji lived charmed life throughout.

I was an eye-witness of at least one incident in which Netaji escaped death by the fraction of an inch.

It was on the morning of 18th October, 1944. Netaji was taking the salute standing on the base in one of the parade grounds in Mingaladen about fourteen miles from Rangoon city. The occasion was the first day of the Provisional Government Week, to celebrate the First Anniversary of Proclamation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind on 21st of October the previous year at Singapore. The idea was to start the celebration on the 18th, three days before the historic day, and to conclude it three days after, namely on the 24th. But the very first day, and the very first function of that day nearly threw us

into an abyss of disaster. How Netaji escaped being killed on the spot is even now a wonder to me.

The function started with an address from Netaji to the soldiers of the INA and girls of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment drawn up on the maidan. A row of chairs had been placed behind the saluting base some five yards away, and I was seated on one of them along with Ministers of the Burma Government, senior IIL officials and INA officers and Japanese military and civilian officers who had been invited.

Right from the start of the parade we heard intermittent reports of gunfire high up in the air. We thought that perhaps Japanese fighters were carrying out manoeuvres, so we did not pay much attention to those shots. Later it turned out that Japanese fighters were trying to chase away enemy planes approaching the skies over the parade ground. The morning was clear with bright sunshine and the Indian Tricolour proudly waving at the top of the flag—mast next to the saluting base could be seen by enemy airmen eight to ten thousand feet up in the air. And the troops drawn up on the ground and Netaji standing majestically in the uniform of the Supreme Commander provided an unmistakable target even for an airman moving at a high speed.

The ack ack started thundering and then I saw a fighter plane painted in camouflage colours suddenly emerging from behind us, fly low over the tree tops fringing the ground to our right, and the white pilot peering through his goggles over the port side of the cockpit at the parade ground below. All he had to do at that moment was to touch a button and his machineguns would have mowed down Netaji, the Rani, who were just then marching past and those of us who were seated just behind the saluting base.

Major General Zaman Khan, Commander of the First Division who was standing to attention on the ground to the left of the saluting base turned to Netaji and begged of him to jump off the five foot high base. Netaji did not budge; he did not even turn round to look at Khan. Again Khan shouted to Netaji: *Yeh front nahihai kab meherbani karke aap neche utariye*. (This is not the front Sir, please step off the base).

By now the girls had reached the other end of the ground but then the soldiers were about to follow and a splinter from one of the ack ack guns whizzed past us and hit a soldier at the base of his skull and killed him on the spot. The man actually fell within a few feet of where Netaji was still standing. He could not any more resist the frantic appeal of Khan who was bent on saving Netaji's life from certain death. On his own Khan commanded the soldiers to disperse and take cover. Then Netaji coolly walked down the steps of the saluting base, strode unconcerned to the edge of the parade ground and sat under a tree until the duel between the ack ack guns and the fighters was over.

I must admit that I was badly shaken because I had also missed that fatal splinter by only a few feet, and I was one of the first to see the soldier with the skull ripped open. In the excitement over seeing the low-flying enemy plane, and watching Kiani's frantic appeal to Netaji to get off the base, I forgot to throw myself on the ground when splinters started whizzing very close to our group. Even now, my heart skips a beat or two when I recall that narrowest of Netaji's escapes.

Commanders like Major General Shah Nawaz who accompanied Netaji on his periodical tours of the fighting fronts have witnessed many other instances of Netaji's providential escape from death.

As for other less fateful bombing and machinegunning incidents, that Netaji has been through, these experiences have been many indeed, and Netaji took them gamely like any true warrior, he never gave them another thought, but by a personal example of coolness and composure steadied the nerves of all around him.

The way Netaji always behaved at the time of bombing or machinegunning was a source of acute anxiety to all of us. He would never hurry to get away from his desk or his bed even after hearing the drone of the enemy bombers or fighters overhead.

Naturally, those of us who were near him could not hurry, even if we wanted to! Speaking for myself, I always wanted to hurry for the simple reason that there was no point in stopping a stray splinter from a bomb or a bullet from a machine-gun with one's body (and most probably life) if one had a chance to avoid it and live to fight one more day. I felt pretty brave till a few minutes before the actual bombing was over!

But, it is a horrible feeling when the bombs from American Super-Fortresses (B 29's) come thundering through the air. The noise they make after leaving the plane is a sort of combination of the peals of heavy thunder and the terrific din, say, caused by a rain of boulders on a mile of zinc-sheet roofing. And the air reverberates with a terrifying sound, and when the bomb falls on the ground and explodes, the very earth trembles under your feet in those few seconds. The pit of my stomach would be a vacuum, and my heart would sink into my boots, as if through the vacuum in the stomach. The next moment I would recover my composure and start bringing out forced smiles and rather unconvincing jokes. Anyway, it was an experience worth going through, death lost most of its terror, because it was one's constant companion.

Machine-gun fire was more dangerous but positively less frightening. It was only gun-fire in quick succession. You could stand the sound of hundred shots in quick succession until, of course, they mowed you and your comrades down in the twinkling of an eye!

That was life on the fighting fronts of India's War of Liberation, and I often used to wonder about the secret of Netaji's striking courage.

In the face of sudden and imminent danger and death I always came to the conclusion that he derived his strength from God himself. No mere man could have given him even a fraction of the moral support he needed when at moments he was confronted with formidable problems or impending disaster. He was after all no less mortal than his men though a superman among them.

Whenever he was not actually doing some work or talking to somebody, he would withdraw within himself in a trice and would be in communion with God. His faith in the Supreme Being was an inexhaustible reservoir of courage and optimism. Without a trace of haughtiness or rashness he could pitch himself against a combination of even the most powerful forces.

It was his immense spiritual faith that gave him poise, tranquillity, quiet strength, infectious self-confidence, tolerance, charitableness, natural humility and most important of all, a touching and overpowering spirit of humanity.

Even in the midst of bloody battles his soul recoiled and yearned for peace and seclusion, perhaps once again in the Himalayas whither as a boy he had wandered in quest of a teacher or guru.

Sanyasi (ascetic) was writ large on his forehead even when the Supreme Commander's cap rested majestically on his head at an alluring angle over his right brow.

Many a night after dinner while in Singapore he used to send his car to the Ramakrishna Mission to fetch the Swami in charge or his fellow missionary, Brahmachari Kallasam, and spend a good two hours or so in spiritual communion before retiring into his study some time after midnight, to go through official papers. Or late at night he used to drive incognito to the Mission, there change into a priestly silk dhoti, shut himself up in the prayer room, rosary in hand and spend a couple of hours in meditation. This helped him face and solve complicated problems.

Most intensely he sought the guidance of God. He felt that in every step forward that he took, God himself was leading him by both hands, hence that immobile face, iron determination, supreme but quiet self-confidence and an ascetic indifference to success or failure.

The only external symbol of his godliness was the tiny little leather bag—the tiniest article of his personal luggage, holding the two-and-a-half by two-inch Gita, the small rosary of beads (tulsi mala) and his spare reading glasses. For a long long time only his personal attendant knew about this symbol, none else. This was itself typical of the strictest privacy in which Netaji lived with his God. His faith was not an article for parade.

There could be no other source of the rare glow on his face which never faded, of the serenity that would descend on it in the midst of tumultuous events. He never even once spoke of his God in public. He lived Him.

Those of us who came nearest to him, sometimes referred to him as "the Buddha"—so serene and so silent was he, whenever he could snatch a moment off from active duties.

He was the most turbulent figure in East Asia from the day in July, 1943 when he landed in Singapore till that fateful evening in August, 1945 when he took off in a plane from the Saigon aerodrome, and yet, if, even during those stormy days, you wanted real peace and spiritual ecstasy, you had only to sit for a quiet chat with him late at night—rather tired of body, slightly drowsy, completely relaxed in muscle and nerve, half-closed eyes seeing visions of the fruition of plan after plan, stage by stage, gloriously merging in the big panorama of a true, happy and prosperous India, visions which clung to him to the last.

In those supreme moments of dedication he came nearest to God.

It was conscious, constant, silent nearness to God that gave him the rare, charming, magnetic, dynamic and dominant personality which inspired tens of thousands of men and women and led them to perform rare feats of courage and heroism. The smallest of men grew to their fullest stature when they saw and heard him, even from a distance. At his touch, the most greedy and selfish were converted into men of unheard of sacrifices, even cowards became heroes. One shy, boyish, innocent, infectious smile from this eternal youth worked havoc in the hearts of men and women, old and young, rich and poor, and swept them on to acts of glory.

Some men he smiled into parting with thousands of rupees for India's freedom, many others he smiled into parting with lakhs and lakhs willingly for the sacred cause.

It would be no exaggeration to say that the perennially cheerful and smiling face which hypnotised millions of his countrymen into doing his bidding was part of the divine dispensation which guided this man of destiny. Men like him are born in India once in centuries.

In life, and in death after life, I shall wait to see Netaji again.

The only epitaph I wish for myself is (in Hindustani) "inteazar hi inteazar," in other words "Waiting in Life, Waiting in Death." Let empires and nations pass by me, let wars and interregnums pass by me, let civilisation pass by me—me, living or dead—I shall be waiting. Intezar hi Intezar. I am waiting—I can't say for what.

But I won't say I am waiting for him to return in flesh and blood.

I am certainly waiting to see his spirit take Indian youth by the hand and lead them on the path of true service to Independent India and lead Free India out of darkness, on to the glorious light of dawn

This is not an idle dream. I know that this will come to pass this renaissance and resurgence of Netaji's spirit in the youth of India

For with my own eyes I have seen faith almost move mountains and we Indians are peculiarly susceptible to the influence of the faith that moves mountains

FOR ALL TIME THE SPIRIT OF NETAJI WILL SERVE FREE INDIA WILL LEAD FREE INDIA.

# HEROIC ROLE OF I. N. A.

*In this article are traced the history and development of the Indian National Army, its organisation and ideals and above all its thorough Indian composition and freedom from Japanese Control.*

THE INDIAN Independence Movement in East Asia was in certain respects a spontaneous Indian effort, while, in some aspects, it was inspired by the victories gained by the Japanese forces against the Anglo-Americans.

When the Japanese attacked the British in Malaya, the majority of the Indian population in that country, numbering about seven lakhs, were not quite clear in their own minds as to their reactions to the incident. There were, of course, frantic efforts at evacuation, resulting in panic in the public mind. But the background of British rule in Malaya for the previous few years, spotted by the firing on estate labourers, who had struck work demanding an increase in wages in keeping with the rise in cost of living, and other prejudicial acts towards Indians, like ordering censorship of the Indian-owned papers, while the British-owned press were free, had produced a spirit of suppressed antagonism to the British in the Indian mind. In the case of Indian troops, particularly among the officers, there was disaffection owing to the exhibition of colour prejudice, as in the case of the order prohibiting Indian officers from using the swimming pool of Singapore Swimming Club, though they were allowed membership, after much agitation. Among the men, there was a feeling that they were not getting a fair deal in being sent to fight, with practically no air protection.

Singapore fell on February 15, 1942. On the 17th February, a few Indians were invited to meet Major Fujiwara of the Japanese Military Headquarters. The Major said that England's power was dwindling and that it was an opportunity for India to strike for Independence. He said that Japan was prepared to give all assistance to Indians to attain Independence for India. Indians, though British subjects and technically enemy nationals, would not be considered as such by the Japanese in the conquered countries, since they realised that Indians were not British subjects of their own will. He suggested the formation of an Indian



Independence League to organise all the Indians for fighting for India's Independence promising to give all facilities to that end. The Indian leaders said that they would consider the proposal and meet him again in a few days time.

A meeting of Indian leaders from different parts of Malaya was held in Singapore on the 9th and the 10th March 1942. Meanwhile there was an invitation from Shri Rash Behari Bose in Tokyo for representatives in Malaya and Thailand to go to Tokyo for a conference. So the meeting of the Indian leaders in Malaya to which some representatives from Thailand had also come decided to send a Goodwill Mission to Tokyo. This decision was taken against the desire of the Japanese who preferred an official delegation to be sent, committed to a specific course of action.

A conference at Tokyo was held from 28th to 30th March 1942 with Shri Rash Behari Bose as Chairman. Apart from the Goodwill Mission from Malaya there were Indian representatives from Hong Kong, Shanghai and Japan. Thailand was not represented owing to the death of the representatives in a plane crash on the way to Tokyo.

At the Conference it was decided that the time was opportune for starting an Independence Movement among the Indians in East Asia and that, Independence complete and free from foreign domination, interference or control of whatever nature shall be the object of the Movement.

It was resolved

That military action against India will be taken only by the Indian National Army and under the command of Indians together with such military, naval and air co-operation and assistance as may be requested from the Japanese Authorities by the Council of Action of the Indian Independence League to be formed.

The Conference also decided That the framing of the future constitution of India will be left entirely to the representatives of the people of India.

It was decided at Tokyo that another Conference more fully representing all the territories in East Asia should be called at Bangkok in June officially to inaugurate the Indian Independence Movement.

Accordingly a Conference of Indians in East Asia was held at Bangkok from 15th to 23rd June 1942. Over 100 delegates representing Indians in Japan, Manchukuo, Hong Kong, Burma, Borneo, Java, Malaya and Thailand as well as representatives of the Indian Army (prisoners of war) in Malaya and Hong Kong were present. The resolutions passed at this Conference formulated the basic principles on which the Indian Independence Movement was to be organised in all territories.

The outstanding conclusions of the Bangkok Conference were —

## HEROIC ROLE OF I N A

- 1 To organise Indians in East Asia into an Indian Independence League to strive for India's Independence
- 2 To raise Indian troops from Indian prisoners of war in East Asia as well as from Indian civilians
- 3 To control and direct the programme and plan of action of the Independence Movement, to bring them in line with the aims and intentions of the Indian National Congress
- 4 To demand from the Japanese Government a further clarification of their policy towards this movement, as well as towards India

Thus, the Indian Independence League was inaugurated by the Bangkok Conference. Its headquarters was established in Singapore. Shri Rash Behari Bose was elected President of the Indian Independence League. A Central Council of Action was formed, with branches organised in all territories in East Asia. The news of the "Quit India" resolution and the arrest of Indian leaders in August brought enthusiasm and determination to a pitch. Beginnings were made towards the organisation of the Indian National Army with Captain Mohan Singh as G O C from the Indian soldiers who had surrendered in Malaya. A call for volunteers from Indian civilians made in Malaya had also a very great response.

In the meanwhile the relations between the Council of Action and the Japanese were becoming strained. The reasons for this were, mainly

(a) The absence of any specific reply from the Tokyo Government to the Bangkok resolutions. There was a general reply renewing Japan's determination to help Indians to get complete Independence and stating that Japan had no territorial or other ambition over India. But the Council of Action was not satisfied with the reply.

(b) The attitude of the Iwakuro Kikan, which had been organized by the Japanese as their Liaison Department between the Indian Independence League and the Japanese Military Authorities and the Japanese Government was not satisfactory. The Council of Action resented attempts by the officials of the Iwakuro Kikan, to interfere with the working of the League as well as the Indian National Army.

A crisis reached in December, 1942, when the Council of Action refused to allow the Indian National Army that had been organised in Malaya, to be transferred to Burma before all outstanding points were clarified by the Japanese Government. The situation was made critical on the 8th December 1942, by the arrest of Col N S Gill of the Indian National Army by the Japanese, as a suspected British spy, without prior consultation with the Council of Action. The members of the Council of Action resigned. By the third week of December General Mohan Singh was also put under arrest. Both he and Col Gill were kept in solitary and dark cells.

The President, Shri Rash Behari Bose declared that he would go to Japan and try to get the necessary clarification on issues from the Tokyo Government and requested that, till then, the organization, i.e. the branches of the Indian Independence League should carry on. This was agreed to. The Malaya Branch agreed, but added a rider

"That Shri Rash Behari Bose be requested to try every possible means to secure a clarification of all matters relating to the Movement from the Tokyo Government by declarations statements and otherwise at as early a date as possible and that while the normal working of the Movement will be carried on as usual any further forward move will be decided only after such declarations and statements

The Iwakuro Kikan started trying to build up parallel organisations to weaken the Indian Independence League. A Youth Movement was launched secretly by them and intensive propaganda was carried on against the leaders of the Independence League. In February 1943 the Committee of the Malaya Branch of the Independence League after three days meeting decided to present a Memorandum to Shri Rash Behari Bose as President of the Indian Independence League setting out the difficulties of the situation. The decision of the Committee was that they should resign if no improvement was noticed.

The Japanese managed to get information of the Memorandum before it reached the President, Shri Rash Behari Bose and they brought pressure to bear on Shri Rash Behari Bose to insist on the resignation of his office by the President of the Malaya Branch Shri N. Raghavan. As a result, Shri Raghavan resigned. The other members of the Malaya Branch felt that their resignation was exactly what the Japanese desired. This would have created an Indian organisation which would be a puppet body managed by the Japanese. To prevent that possibility the other Indian members of Malaya Branch refrained from resigning along with Shri Raghavan.

In April 1943 another Conference of delegates from all territories in East Asia was called at Singapore in which Shri Rash Behari Bose announced that Shri Subhas Chandra Bose would succeed him in the leadership of the Movement.

On July 2 1943 Shri Subhas Chandra Bose arrived in Singapore and at a Conference of delegates held on July 4 he took over the Presidency of the Indian Independence League from Shri Rash Behari Bose who resigned.

The organisation of the Indian Independence League and the Indian National Army was overhauled. At a review of the Indian National Army held in Singapore on 5th July 1943 the formation of the Army was announced to the world.

With the assumption of leadership by Shri Subhas Chandra Bose events moved rapidly.

Women joined in large numbers as members of the Indian Independence League. Volunteers from women members formed a regiment called "Rani of Jhansi Regiment". Many women also enlisted in a Red Cross Section. A camp for training women recruits was opened in Singapore in October 1943, and later another training camp was started in Rangoon also.

In 1942, there had been a call for volunteers for the Indian National Army. A large number had enlisted. But owing to difficulties put by the Japanese in the way of training the recruits no progress was made. With the arrival of Subhas new recruiting started in full vigour and four training camps were opened in Malaya, with a total capacity of training nearly 7,000 recruits at one time.

An Officers' Training School was also started to train Officers for the Indian National Army from among the N C O's and sepoys of the Indian Army as well as from the civilians. Donations from Indians towards the Indian Independence League Fund started coming in, in large amounts. Much of the material help required by the League and the Indian National Army was received free from the Indians.

To strengthen the Movement further, a Provisional Government of Free India was formed on 21st October, 1943, with Shri Subhas Chandra Bose as Head of the State. It was recognised by all countries then fighting against England. On October 23, the Provisional Government formally declared war on England and America. It was felt that the Headquarters of the Provisional Government and the Indian Independence League should be transferred to Burma, to be nearer to India. This was effected on 7th January 1944.

The situation in Burma was such that the Japanese were not desirous of an offensive campaign. The Allied offensive in the Hukwang Valley and the later threatened crossing of the Chindwin River forced the hands of the Japanese. Even then the Japanese plan was to take Imphal and then to let the Indian National Army come into action.

On February 1944, the Indian National Army went into action and on 18th March 1944, they crossed the Indo-Burma Frontier.

The Indian National Army detachments, along with the Japanese detachments, surrounded Imphal after taking Morai, Kohima and other villages. But the lack of air support and the disruption of supplies owing to monsoon forced the Indian National Army to withdraw.

The Indian National Army was engaged in a defensive campaign, when the British forces invaded Burma. During this campaign, many Staff Officers of the Indian National Army went over to the British forces. There were other officers, who remained loyal to the Indian National Army. When Meyktila fell and the 14th Army's progress was seen to be too fast for the Japanese to stop, it was decided to evacuate Rangoon.

Shri Subhas Chandra Bose and his colleagues left Rangoon on 24th April 1945 for Bangkok—they were the last to leave. The Japanese Commander-in-Chief and the Burma Government had left on the 23rd. A force of over 6 000 men and officers of the Indian National Army was left in Rangoon to protect Indian life and property under Major-General Lokanadhan. The Indian Independence League was left in charge of the Vice President, Shri J N Bahaduri.

All liabilities incurred in the name of the Provisional Government of India were met in full before Shri Subhas Chandra Bose withdrew from Rangoon.

The Indian National Army took control of the City of Rangoon and there was not a single case of dacoity or robbery during the period of transition from Japanese to British Control.

Later reports showed that the branches of the Indian Independence League had prevented any harm befalling Indian lives and properties in the districts of Burma also.

This was in strange contrast to what happened when the British evacuated Burma in 1942. Murder and robbery of Indians throughout Burma reached a peak undreamed of before. Indians in Burma still speak of the horrors of those days.

On 5th May 1945 Brigadier Lauder of the 36th Indian Infantry, who was in command of the Rangoon area, sent for Shri Bahaduri. On his request Shri Bahaduri described to him what the Indian Independence League was. Brigadier Lauder suggested that the League should continue with its non-political work and he agreed to do this. In Rangoon the Indian Independence League had been running five free dispensaries. These were reopened.

The National Bank of Azad Hind which had been organized in Rangoon in April 1944 was allowed to continue operating till the 19th May 1945 when the Bank was seized by the Military authorities. The activities of the Indian Independence League came to a close on 28th May 1945 when Shri Bahaduri and other office-bearers of the League were arrested. The Field Security Service would ask a man to "come for a few minutes" and take him and hand him over to the Field Interrogating Unit. The man would have come in the clothes in which he stood. The Field Interrogating Unit would generally take days to finish a case and all these days the suspect would be kept in the Rangoon Central Jail where there was no arrangement at all for supplying mats or clothing.

Some of the suspects after interrogation were allowed to return home. Others were kept in jail for some time and then allowed to go home but with their movements restricted and under police surveillance. Some had to report to the police daily. This included a girl who was

a member of the "Rani of Jhansi Regiment" A few had been taken away to India Many have been sentenced, without any trial, to varying terms of imprisonment and were kept in Insein Jail

Brigadier Lauder, in the early days, it is reported, had told Major-General Lokanadhan that the Indian National personnel would be sent to India It is also said, that at the request of Brigadier Lauder, Major-General Lokanadhan asked the non-Indian Army members of the Indian National Army not to wear uniforms and to ask those who were previously in the British Indian Army, to put on their old uniforms Brigadier Lauder had also assured, according to reports,

(1) that the Indian National Army would not be used for fatigue duty except in company with British Indian troops in equal numbers, to do essential duties,

(2) that the Indian National Army camp could be guarded by their own members,

(3) that they could fly their own flag—the Indian National Flag—and sing their own Anthem

But, after the Indian National Army had been disarmed, the members were placed under restraint under British guards and were made to do road fatigue, cleaning and sweeping, under supervision of British Indian troops Senior officers of the Indian National Army were taken to India under custody The other officers and men were kept prisoners in the jails in Burma

The Provisional Government of Azad Hind had Ministers, who acted through departments of the Indian Independence League Since January 1944, the Headquarters of Azad Hind Government and the Indian Independence League were in Rangoon There were 19 departments in the League Headquarters

There was a Rear Headquarters of the Indian Independence League at Singapore, which supervised activities in Malaya, Sumatra, Java and Borneo

The Indian Independence League had 70 branches in Malaya with a membership of over two lacs In Burma, there were over 100 active branches In Thailand there were 24 branches There were branches in the Andamans, Sumatra, Java, Celebes, Borneo, the Philippines, China, Manchukuo and Japan

Men were recruited for the Indian National Army and for Civil Service There were nine military training camps at a time There was an Officers' Training School in Singapore and another in Rangoon

There was no separate cooking in the camps for different communities The recruits themselves cooked by turns All training was given

by Officers and N C O s in Hindustani. Words of Command were in Hindustani.

The total number of civil recruits who were given training and absorbed into the Indian National Army was nearly twenty thousand from Malaya alone.

The Indian Independence League Movement was supported by Indian money. From all over East Asia contributions were received. Nearly eight crores of rupees were collected in Burma. In Malaya 40 lakhs of rupees were collected as New Year Gift to India in two weeks in January 1945. All the needs of the Indian National Army, excepting arms and ammunition, were met by purchases by the Indian Independence League with its own funds.

The Indian Independence League was a political organization formed for fighting for Indian Independence. But, it also carried out a programme of social service. Large funds were spent for relief work among Indians who were hard hit by the war. In Malaya particularly, among the labour population in the estates distress was acute and the various branches of the League appointed doctors and organized relief centres where food and medicine were given free in all deserving cases.

The biggest Relief Camp in Malaya was in Kuala Lumpur where at one time there used to be a daily average strength of over one thousand men, women and children and the monthly expenses came to over 75,000 Malay dollars.

In Burma the Indian Independence League was running a number of free dispensaries.

There was a fully equipped hospital for Indians run by the Indian Independence League in Thailand.

To relieve distress the Indian Independence League also undertook a programme of settling Indians on land. This was mainly done in Malaya where over 2,000 acres of land, mostly virgin jungle land, was cleared and allotted to Indian settlers for planting.

The Indian Independence League undertook the education of Indian children. Good progress was made in three years in study of Hindustani by Indians in East Asia. National schools were opened and run by the Indian Independence League in all territories. In Burma itself there were 25 Indian schools run under the supervision of the League.

# HEROINES OF INDIA

*People in East Asia were sceptical when Subhas proposed organising an Indian women's battalion. It could be done in India, perhaps, but not in East Asia, they said. Subhas organised two full battalions which played a heroic role on the Burma front. The article below gives the history of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment.*

**N**ETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE arrived in Singapore on July 2, 1943 and on July 12 he addressed a mass rally of Indian women in Singapore. He exhorted the women that they should take an active part in the fight for freedom and cited the examples of Indian heroines in history, particularly that of Rani Lakshmibai of Jhansi who died fighting sword in hand in 1857. He called for volunteers to join the army as fighters and thousands of women gave their names on the spot. Among them was Dr Lakshmi Swaminathan. Dr Lakshmi was selected as the fit person to command this regiment not only for her name but for her patriotic zeal and attractive personality, and she was sent for officers' training.

August 22, 1943, was a red-letter day in the history of the Independence movement, for on this day was the opening ceremony of the Rani of Jhansi training camp near Bras Basah, Singapore, and Dr Lakshmi was commissioned as Captain and given the command. The Rani of Jhansi Regiment was divided into two sections. The first section was a purely fighting unit, in which volunteers were given the same severe training as recruits in any other I N A training camp. The other was a nursing section including those who were not temperamentally fit for combatant purposes and physically unfit to stand the severe training, and were given lectures and training in medical work at the I N A base hospital at Bidadari, Singapore.

When the Ranis first started training, crowds of Chinese, Malays and others used to gather round the parade ground reminding one of the crowds at a football cup match. The Ranis got shy and could not carry on. High ranking officers of I N A, from the supreme command, then decided to fence the parade ground with matting about six feet high to avoid the vulgar gaze of spectators. After about two months the Ranis became quite seasoned and used to take part in route



marches with full marching kit, ceremonial parades and public demonstration in arms training. It was a thrilling sight to see the Ranis demonstrating bayonet fighting on dummies, yelling 'Delhi Chalo Delhi'.

Japanese officers used to scoff at the idea of women soldiers but after witnessing a demonstration they used to look puzzled and then say that the sleeping Indian tiger had really been roused with a vengeance. Indian shirkers used to slink away after seeing the Ranis in training and then be seen the next day at the recruiting office. Chinese, Malay and Japanese women of Singapore used to look on in amazement and then with admiration and Indian saris began to come into fashion with them. The Ranis dressed in field service caps, shirts, Jodhpur breeches and boots and wore I N A cap badges, party badges and insignia. Their officers wore bush shirts and long trousers. Major Lee tells the reporter that when in Singapore he went to a Chinese tailor to have some alterations in a pair of riding breeches which had become rather tight for him. The tailor and the assistants began to laugh and say 'This is not a military officer's dress. It is worn by Indian women.' So Major Lee had to give up riding breeches.

The Ranis were trained by select instructors who were formerly of crack regiments of the British Indian Army and had been fighting in many lands. In the beginning seasoned warriors of I N A who had served from the age 16 in the army and had put in ten to fifteen years' service used to feel very awkward to salute an officer of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment. But in course of time this feeling changed to that of genuine admiration and respect. But there were certain cases which caused a bit of amusement. There was a Dr Podumal of Bangkok who was attached to the Welfare Department of the Indian Independence League of Thailand. Mrs Podumal joined the Rani of Jhansi Regiment and in course of time rose from a Lance Naik to Naik, Havildar, Sub-Officer and then Second Lieutenant. She came to Thailand for recruiting with a small band of the Ranis. There was a ceremonial parade where she was given preference and gave the words of caution to units and recruits. When Dr Podumal came face to face with Lieut. (Mrs) Podumal during the function he had to come to attention and salute to the vast amusement of the people assembled there. He was only an Independence League Officer but she in virtue of her commission was senior to him and had to be given precedence.

The Ranis of the nursing section displayed the highest devotion to their duties on the front under severe and almost continuous bombardment and machine gunning from the air. In the Burma campaign hospitals were a special target and many casualties occurred among the wounded and the sick in hospitals and convalescent depots.

One remarkable feature of the patriotic spirit of Indians in East Asia was that entire families took part in the Indian National Army.

Major Lee tells us of an old Sikh, who sold his rubber estate and all that he possessed and gave it to the League. He, his son and daughter-in-law enlisted. The son became a recruit in the Seletar training camp, the daughter-in-law joined the Ram of Jhansi Regiment, while the old man, who had lost his wife some years before, joined the Seletar training camp, but as he was too old and not physically fit for the firing line, he was made an officer orderly to the Commanding Officer and used to run about with great enthusiasm and pleasure on his duties.

There is another instance of Mrs Ponniah, a Sub-Officer in the Ram of Jhansi regiment. Her husband, Dr Ponniah, was attached to the Welfare Department of the Indian Independence League as he was not physically fit and over-aged for the army. Mrs Ponniah's son joined the I N A. Officers Training School at Singapore and, after passing out, was commissioned as Second Lieutenant. He was somewhere on the Burma front and has not been heard of yet.

The Ram of Jhansi Regiment reached the strength of two battalions and was disbanded in May 1945, just when Rangoon fell.

# THE TRAGIC PLANE CRASH

By S. A. Ayer

*The author of "Unto Him A Witness" published by Thakkar & Co Bombay narrates the tragic tale of the plane crash which ended the adventurous career of Habib the darling of the youth of India and hero of a hundred battles fought against British imperialism over quarter of a century*

HABIB STEPPED forward sat down on the low wooden platform removed his top-boots and got up. I put my arms round his shoulders and conducted him to the drawing room. We two sat on the sofa and Mrs. Sahay took the chair in front of us.

Complete silence for full five minutes. None of us was in a mood to speak or knew how to begin or where to begin. We sat there with our heads bent, hearts filled with grief. But how long to sit like that without asking Habib a thousand questions about Netaji. I cleared my throat and started asking Habib all about Netaji.

"Tell me Habibbhai what is the truth? Is it true? Did you bring the ashes? Are they really Netaji's ashes? Did your plane really crash? Was Netaji in it when it crashed? Were you with Netaji in the hospital? Were you with Netaji till the last moment? Were you present during the last rites? Did you ask the Japanese to try to bring Netaji's body to Tokyo?"

I suddenly realised that I was overwhelming Habib with a volley of questions without giving him a chance to reply even to one of them. Then I halted for a brief minute. Habib in his own inimitable way quietly and in deepest solemnity said that it was all tragically true.

"Tell me all about it. Tell me how it happened. Tell us everything that happened since I said Jai Hind to Netaji and to you at 5-15 pm on the 27th August at the Saigon aerodrome."

Then in low and measured tones Habib began his melancholy narrative.

"In about a couple of hours time after we took off from Saigon aerodrome we landed at Touraine (Indo-China) and halted there for the

night. Taking off again early the next morning we landed at the Taihok airport at about 2-0 p m

"While the plane was refuelling we had something to eat and we were ready to start again. Meanwhile I changed into warm clothes and asked Netaji if he too would not do so, because we would be flying into colder regions. Netaji laughed away the suggestion, and said there was no hurry for him to change into warm things. He was in cotton khaki slacks and bushcoat. He was not in a hurry to discard these for woollen khaki. After half an hour, we walked across to the plane. It was 2-35 p m when the plane took off. We had just cleared the runway and gained two or three hundred feet. We were on the outskirts of the aerodrome. We had been up in the air only a minute or two.

"Then a sudden deafening noise. What on earth is this? I thought an enemy fighter had spotted us taking off from Taihoku and had come swooping down on us and had taken a pot shot at us.

"What is the Pilot going to do? Can he make a forced landing? Or is the plane going to crash? Actually there was no enemy plane about. I learnt later that one of the port engines had broken.

"The port engine is out of action. Only the star-board engine is still working. The plane is already wobbling, the pilot is making a supreme effort to balance the whole weight of the plane on the star-board engine. We are losing height pretty fast. I turned round and looked at Netaji. He was absolutely unperturbed. He could not have looked more composed if the plane was about to make a perfect landing after a long flight. But I am sure he must have seen the acutest distress in my face.

"I wonder now whether I did any thinking at that time. But I must have thought that the end was only a matter of seconds. And in less than a few seconds the plane crashed on its nose and then everything went dark for a while.

"When I recovered consciousness after a few seconds I realised that all the luggage had crashed on top of me and a fire had started in front of me. So exit by the rear was blocked by the packages and exit by the front was possible only through the fire. Netaji was injured in the head but he had struggled to his feet and was about to move in my direction to get away from the fire and to get out of the plane through the rear. But this was out of question. There was not an inch of passage through which we could get out. So I said to him "Aagese nikhiye, Netaji" (Please get out through the front, Netaji).

"He sized up the situation. Then he tried to make his way through the nose of the plane which was already smashed and burning. With both his hands he fought his way through the fire. He got out and

stood there about ten or fifteen feet away anxiously looking out for me.

When the plane crashed Netaji got a splash of petrol all over his cotton khaki and it caught fire when he struggled through the nose of the plane. So he stood with his clothes burning and himself making desperate efforts to unbuckle the belts of his bushcoat and round his waist.

I dashed up to him and tried to help him remove the belts. My hands were burnt in the process. As I was fumbling with his belts I looked up and my heart nearly stopped when I saw his face battered by iron and burned by fire. A few minutes later he collapsed and lay on the ground at the Taihaku aerodrome.

I too was exhausted and went and lay down next to him. I could hardly know what had happened to the others. The whole place looked horrible with the wreckage of the plane and we passengers strewn about all over the place.

The next thing I knew was that I was lying on a hospital bed next to Netaji. I found out later within fifteen minutes of the crash military ambulances had rushed us to the hospital in Taihaku city. Netaji last consciousness almost immediately after reaching the hospital.

He revived a little later and relapsed again into a state of coma. I was not so badly injured or burnt though I was hardly able to stand up. I struggled to my feet and went up to Netaji as often as I could. The Japanese made superhuman efforts to save Netaji. But it was all in vain. Six hours after he was brought into the hospital i.e. at 9-00 p.m. on 18th August Netaji's end came peacefully.

I find it impossible to describe to you those six hours of mortal agony *not so much for Netaji as for me*. In all those six hours not even once did Netaji complain about the writhing pain that he must have been suffering. Except for brief spells Netaji was practically conscious throughout.

In one of those delirious moments Netaji whispered the name of Hassan. I was sitting near him and I said: *Hassan yahan nahi hai. Sab main hum Habib*. (Hassan is not here. Sir I am here Habib.)

He was convinced that he was not going to survive. A few moments before his end came he said to me: *Habib my end is coming very soon. I have fought all my life for my country's freedom. I am dying for my country's freedom. Go and tell my countrymen to continue the fight for India's freedom. India will be free and before long.*

The few words that he spoke to me. I was prostrate. I did not know what to do. I did not care what happened to me. I was not interested in anything. The Japanese tried to coax me and I did their best to make me eat a little bit way of nourishment but they found it was useless for the time being.

## THE TRAGIC PLANE CRASH

When I felt well enough to talk to them I told them to arrange to send Netaji's body by plane to Singapore preferably, or to Tokyo if Singapore was out of the question. They promised they would. I am quite sure they did try their very best. They told me that there were practical difficulties in getting Netaji's coffin into the plain. They told me then that it was impossible to carry Netaji's remains out of Taihoku and cremation had to be arranged as early as possible. I had no other alternative but to agree to the cremation in Taihoku.

The funeral service with full military honours was held in the shrine attached to the hospital and the cremation took place on the 20th. They placed Netaji's ashes in an urn and kept it in the shrine.

My wounds were healing slowly. My health improved steadily. Then I told the Japanese that I didn't wish to stay in the hospital even one day longer than necessary and I must take Netaji's ashes to Tokyo as early as possible. How to transport me from Formosa to Tokyo was a problem and it gave the Japanese a very bad headache. They could not decide whether they should send me across by ship or by plane, as they were not sure whether any ship or plane was leaving Formosa for Japan. I went on hoping for the best and insisted that I be given a seat in any kind of transport that might be going to Japan.

"Three weeks went by without much hope of reaching Tokyo. Then suddenly I was told that a single ambulance plane was leaving Taihoku and I could get a seat. I took charge of Netaji's ashes and flew by that plane and reached Tokyo on the 6th of September. I was taken straight to one of the suburbs for the sake of secrecy and it was only two days later that the Japanese took first the ashes and then me into Tokyo city."

Habib halted for breath. He had had his say. He had nothing more to add. Mrs Sahay and myself did not utter a word for some time. We did not know what to say. So even the last and faintest hope had gone. It was no use hoping against hope that after all the plane crash story was a mere tale. Unfortunately, it was too true.

Still I turned round to Habib, put my hands on his shoulders, pressed them and nearly shook him and said: "Colonel Saheb, for heaven's sake tell me the truth. Do you really mean to tell me that the plane did crash? Tell me the truth. I am sure you would not like to keep the truth from me."

With tears in his eyes Habib said: "Aye! Saheb, I am very sorry. I am terribly sorry that all that I have told you is the dreadful truth. It is no use hoping that it is all false. I am afraid you have got to believe it."

Then he turned away from me. My hands were off his shoulders and I sank into the corner of the sofa for a few minutes. Then we continued our conversation in whispers, in fits and starts. It was well past midnight now and we decided to retire for the night.



## 'THE RETURN OF THE SOLDIER'

A golden chariot carries Netaji through the streets of Delhi. On the way he is greeted by Mahatman at whose feet he falls, when Mahatman lifts him up and embraces him, saying, "Your place, Subhas, is not at my feet but in my heart. From to-day, now that my goal is achieved, I am to retire from politics. I shall henceforth be with the poor, my Jawahar at the helm of Administration and my Subhas amidst the Soldiers."

Then there was music and revelry, singing and dancing and as the soldier watches the revelry he hears a faint voice harking him. The soldier turns back to see his dear mother stretching out her arms to receive him. A ragged cry escapes his lips. Then his deep voice, choked with joy, murmurs 'Mataji'.

For over five hours the soldier lay floating in the realms of dreamland when the soft tunes of a "basali" brought him back to reality and he awoke. It was a refreshing evening, the sun had sunk, the cool breeze was whispering through the leaves, all around him the cattle was grazing, while a shepherd boy sitting near him was playing on the flute.

"Ram, Ram, Sahab", he smilingly wished.

"Ram, Ram," the soldier replied "Well Sonny, where do you put up?", he asked him.

"Yonder there, Babuji," the boy pointed out, "there beyond that stream, on the top of that little mound."

"Well beta, have you a mother?", the soldier questioned.

"Yes Babuji, I have a mother but I have never seen her. Pitaji says that God had sent for her when I was very small and that she is staying in his palace. She can see me but I cannot see her. Pitaji says, 'God sends for those who are dear to him'. Babuji, is your mother also staying in God's palace?"

"No, no beta," replied the soldier patting the child, "you see, my mother is very naughty, and God will not send for her."

"If I pray to God, if I take my flock every day, if I do not weep, Pitaji says, then alone mother will come back. How is your mother, Babuji?"

"She is very nice, beta, beautiful and kind. You see, I am now going home to greet her. She must be waiting for me."

"There you see, Babuji, that white cloth being waved in the air! It is a signal for me to go home. Jai Hind, Babuji."

"Oh!" the soldier exclaimed with proud admiration, "come here, beta, Who taught you to say this?"

"Why, everybody says it, so I say it", replied the boy. "Jai Hind, Babuji", repeated the child waving a cordial good-bye and left the place.



Once in town the soldier turned off sharply into a short side street. Here he breathed a homely atmosphere. "If I die now, there will be somebody at least who will recognise me," thought the soldier. With hope and confidence he walked through the lighted street. Here I started my educational career," thought he as he passed by a school building. Here is my favourite restaurant and yonder there the college hostel. I passed the best years of my life. He stood gazing at his hostel and the old reminiscences floated before his mind's eye. The college gatherings, the sports, the picnics. Suddenly the soldier was taken aback. The sounds of voices faded and there was only a tense, breathless hush. His eyes flickered for a moment, then in utter joy, 'Urmilla'! What a coincidence! This was the same place where the two hands shook five years ago when Urmilla and her friends congratulated him upon his success in the annual sports. The friendship had developed into love and soon the whole college rang with the news of their impending marriage which was postponed due to the unexpected call he received. After five years the soldier was seeing his darling—a silhouetted figure crossing the street and approaching him.

He doubted if she could recognise him in that condition. His two arms half stretched out to greet her, he called her out in one full breath. But the woman's eyes flashed as if to insult him and she passed on. She did not recognise him nor did the soldier attempt to enter into any conversation with her for the mangalsutra was enough to assure him that she was married. His throat was choked, his heart hammered against his ribs. He was not the fainting sort, but now he went ashy white. His legs shivered under him and for some time he was slumped down within him raged pain, a wild paroxysm of agony, until all at once he began thinking of his mother, the last shelter of a youth. A father may turn his back on his child, brothers and sisters may become enemies, husbands may desert their wives and wives their husbands, but a mother's love endures in good repute and bad. In the face of the world's condemnation a mother still hopes her child will turn from evil ways. She remembers still the infant smile, the merry laughter, the joyful shouts, the promise of his youth and she can never be brought to think him as unworthy. Thinking of these thoughts the soldier headed for his home which was now an hour's walk.

From a distance he saw the familiar bungalow that was his home. The light in it heartened him. "How happy will they be to receive me!" he thought. The smiling image of his mother, the amiable face of his father stood before his eyes. "They must have taken me to be dead. I don't want to die alone and be forgotten. Eagerly he ascended the staircase. With all the force he pressed the bell. His heart fluttered with joy as the door opened only to be taken aback at the sight of a stranger. Coming to himself, he enquired of Ramprakash Choudhary, "Mr. Choudhary and the family have long left for the village" and then he was about to jump at the large of the door that it showed the curtains.

"Why has it been ordained that I should be so entangled in the mesh of misfortunes?" His power of endurance had exhausted. With difficulty he came down the staircase and laid himself on the footpath below.

The uneasy dawn awoke him with a hungry heart. The dawn had marked the seventeenth day of his laborious march home. "Why has the family left for the village? What is it that made them leave this town? Is father not well? Is dear mother not well? Or my brothers or else has anything," thought the soldier. "These questions will unnecessarily add to my worries." The intense desire to meet the family was the only incentive to his tired limbs to move. Desperate and defiant the soldier walked on.

With a paltry amount, barely enough for a railway ticket, he could not decide whether to travel without ticket or to fill his empty belly. The prestige of the institution to which he belonged made him decide on remaining hungry. As the train started, the soldier felt his body feverish. His condition was so pitiable that any stranger would have sympathised with him. Seeing a fellow passenger prone to help him, the soldier requested him to wake him up at Irakpur station. "I am also getting down there", replied the passenger. "Since you stay there, do you happen to know one Mr. Ramprakash Chowdhary?", "—My dear man, the whole village knows him and worships him", the passenger replied.

"Why so?"

"Because he is the Father of the illustrious Bhaiat Babu who suffered jail for four years, while the whole family is devoting its wealth and time for the service of the village. Lately, a free hospital was opened by them for the poor and" but the soldier, due to high temperature, had fallen in a semi-conscious sleep and the passenger thought it wiser to leave him alone.

With the kindness of the passenger who awoke him, the soldier helped himself out of the station. A bullock-cart driver promised to take him. The journey which gave a shaking to every one of his feverish limbs, at last came to an end, when the driver asked him to get down as he was to go further up.

The soldier asked the driver as to how far was the house of Ramprakashji Chowdhari.

"That cottage yonder there with a garden in front", replied the driver, "but what do you want him for?" "I am his S-O-N," he stammered.

The driver was shocked into repentance. He and all the villagers had heard from Ramprakashji of his son "Hemant Kumar", who was a

Captain in His Majesty's Forces reported to have been missing and believed Killed. The driver was profusely apologetic and fell at the feet of the soldier begging pardon for his indifferent behaviour towards a person whose father had rendered immeasurable service to the village folks. 'In fact, sir' he said 'I am to be the luckiest man in the village to have the honour of being the first man in the village to disclose to your parents the fact of your arrival. They believe you to be no more in this world. Heaven alone will know their joy when I break this news to them. Bahuji kindly rest here while I fetch your mother' and the driver ran with all his might shouting 'Mataji! Mataji!'. The shouts attracted the attention of folks all over as Mataji was addressed only to Indiradevi the mother of the soldier and unless there was some sensational news no one would have shouted thus. Village folks therefore immediately gathered on the spot, some coming out of the huts some from the woods and fields.

The soldier's eager eyes caught sight of the solitary figure dressed in white hurriedly coming out of the cottage, he could glimpse the figure running towards him. In spite of extreme weakness the soldier left the cart, and stretched his trembling arms to greet his dear dear mother. Just one word which he longed to hear. Hemu, my darling Hemu. Her two longing arms were stretched out to grapple her darling son to her heart. Within the twinkling of an eye the four arms clasped and the joyous tears of the mother covered the face of the soldier while the three letters I N A. fixed on his shoulder dazzled in the sunlight that pierced through the thick shade.



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